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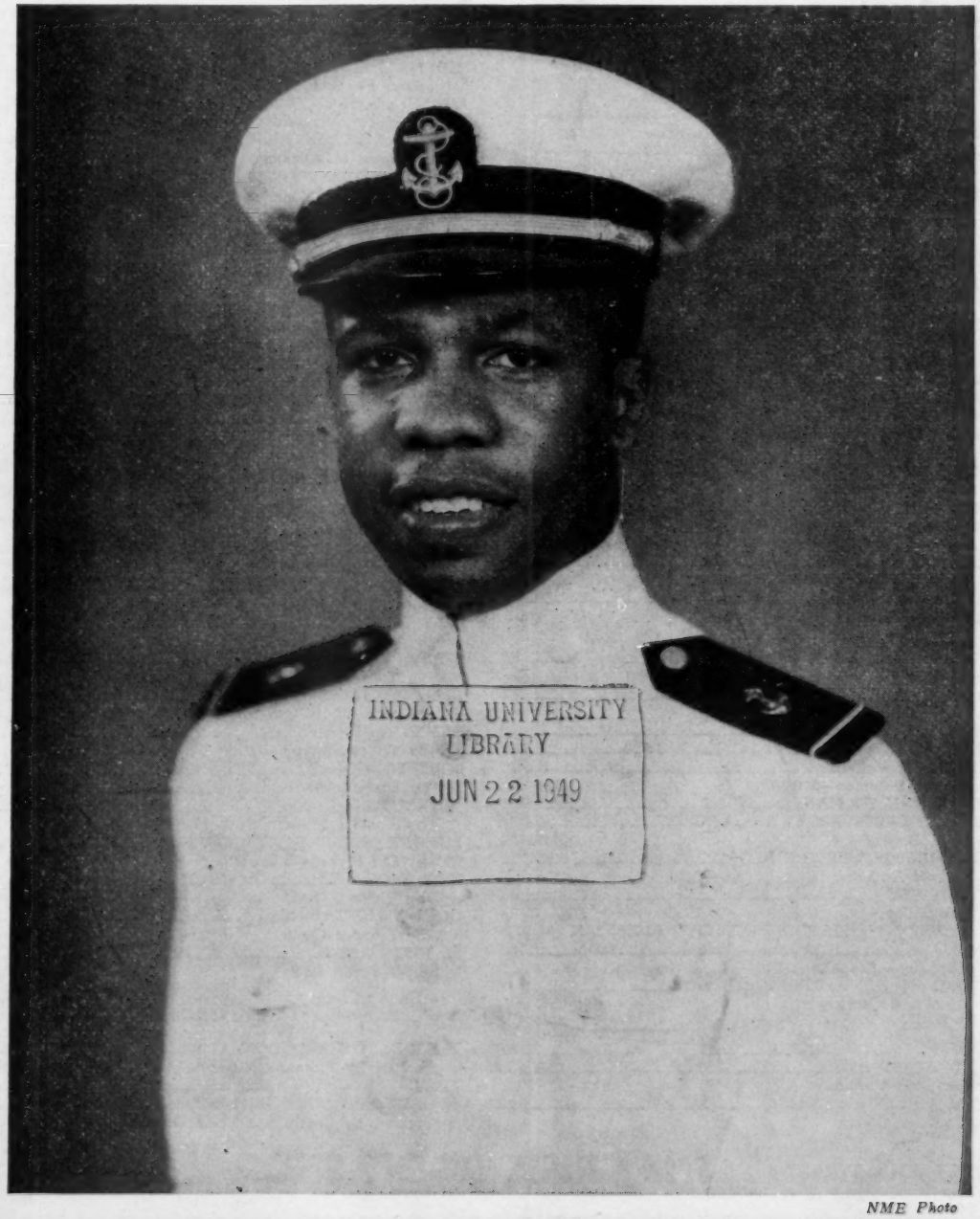

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Vol. 56, No. 6 Whole Number 462

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EDITORIAL ROUNDUP

COVER—Ensign Wesley Anthony Brown, of 1305 Q Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C., is the first Negro graduate of the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland. He received his diploma in graduation exercises in Dahlgren Hall at 11 a.m. on June 3. A graduate of the Dunbar high school, Washington, D. C., Ensign Brown attended Howard university for one year prior to being appointed to the Academy by Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., of New York City.

He is one of eighteen members of the 1949 graduating class selected to become Civil Engineer Corps officers of the Navy. Following his graduation, he will be assigned to duty at the Boston Naval Shipyard for practical experience in the Public Works Department and then will attend Rennselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, New York, for an additional year of engineering training.

Ensign Brown won his class numerals in cross-country track activities during all four years of his participation in this sport. During his second-class year he was appointed Midshipman Second Class Petty Officer in the Brigade Organization for the final term. During his first-class year he served as Midshipman Second Class Petty Officer for the first group and Midshipman (Junior Grade) in the second group.

Ensign Brown is the sixth Negro enrolled at the Naval Academy. The two Negro midshipmen now completing their first year at the Academy are Lawrence C. Chambers, of Washington, and Reaves R. Taylor, of Providence, Rhode Island. Midshipman Chambers was appointed by Representative William L. Dawson of Illinois; Midshipman Taylor by Senator Theodore F. Green of Rhode Island.

•

ST. CLAIR DRAKE, co-author with Horace R. Cayton of *Black Metropolis*, now teaches social anthropology at Roosevelt college, Chicago, Illinois.

•

CY W. RECORD is research assistant in the School of Social Welfare at the University of California and a former Rosenwald Fellow. For a period during the war he worked as southern field representative of the Negro Manpower Service of the War Manpower Commission and participated in the 1942 FEPC hearings in Birmingham, Alabama. He is at present engaged in a study of the role of Negroes in radical political movements since World War I.

•

HOWARD BAER (who reviews *In the Land of Jim Crow*, page 186) is author of the recently published Negro novel, *O, Huge Angel*. He lives at Oceanside, Long Island.

ARTHUR E. BURKE (who reviews *Without Magnolias*, page 187) a frequent *Crisis* contributor, is associate professor of English at Hampton Institute, Virginia.

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COLLEGE and SCHOOL NEWS

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) announces its program for the 1949 summer session of the university, June 13-August 5, with offerings in the areas of agriculture, art, chemistry, economics and business administration, education and psychology, English, foreign languages, geography, history, government, mathematics, mechanic arts, music, physical education, physics, and sociology. Courses are also being offered in the school of law and the school of journalism. U. S. Maxwell, director of the summer session, expects a large enrollment.

Recent conferences held at the university included a conference on educational problems, under the auspices of the department of education, for principals of Missouri schools; the annual conference of the department of business administration and economics; and the first annual convention of the Missouri Association of New Farmers of America.

Two veteran newspaper editors of Missouri were honored on May 3 during headliner week by the Lincoln school of journalism. The men cited for their distinguished careers were Chester A. Franklin, editor of the Kansas City *Call*, and Joseph E. Mitchell, editor of the St. Louis *Argus*.

Four student council members of the Lincoln laboratory high school were among the more than two hundred representatives and council advisers from high schools throughout Missouri who participated in the new state-wide student council organization in April.

Seventeenth annual vocational opportunity week, sponsored by the National Urban League, was observed at KENTUCKY STATE COLLEGE in March. Highlight of the observance was a panel discussion on the theme "Vocational Opportunities and Vocational Guidance." Taking part in the panel were Francis L. Dowdell, Cincinnati Urban League; Mrs. Mae Street, Mammoth Life Insurance Company, Louisville; Captain G. C. Kopp, public safety education, Louisville; John Leake, Atlanta Life Insurance Company, Louisville; Rufus S. Stout, National Carbide Corporation, Louisville; Charles T. Steele, Louisville Urban League, moderator; and Mrs. Alice Cobb, state department of welfare. Frankfort, Ky.

MRS. SADIE P. DELANEY
Chief librarian Veterans Hospital, Tuskegee, Ala.

Mrs. Sadie P. Delaney, chief librarian at the Veterans hospital, TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, has been awarded the Zeta Phi Beta award for achievement and selected as Tuskegee's woman of the year by the same sorority. On March 31 she was given the American Legion award by the Britton McKenzie Post No. 150 of Tuskegee Institute for meritorious service to veterans. Mrs. Delaney's work in bibliotherapy, group-therapy, and with the blind has received international and national praise.

Commencement speaker at the MINISTERIAL INSTITUTE AND COLLEGE on May 25 was Attorney T. Douglass Davidson, of Washington, D. C. Attorney Davis also delivered the commencement address at the George Washington Carver high school, his alma mater, in Tupelo, Mississippi.

Bishop John W. E. Brown, Jr., of Atlanta, Ga., President William P. Tolley, of Syracuse university, and other visitors, participated in the commencement activities of BENNETT COLLEGE May 28-30. Dedication of two new buildings now under construction was a part of the commencement activities. The Jessie M. Reynolds hall, which will house sixty-five young women, was dedicated on May 29. On May 30 the cornerstone was laid for the Memorial Student Union building and the new faculty apartment.

At the recent annual meeting in New York City of delegates to the National Health Council, Dr. Albert W. Dent, president of DILLARD UNIVERSITY, was elected a member of the board of directors to serve for a three-year term (1949-51). Dr. Dent was a member of the United States delegation to the First World Health Assembly in Geneva, Switzerland, last summer and is director of the National Organization for public Health Nursing.

The Barretts of Wimpole Street, under the direction of Frances W. Perkins, associate professor of the drama, was presented by the Dillard Players' Guild in April.

TENNESSEE A & I STATE COLLEGE commencement speaker on May 30 was Dr. George F. Zook, president of the American Council on Education, Washington, D. C. Baccalaureate speaker on May 29 was Bishop R. N. Brooks, resident bishop of the New Orleans area of the Methodist church.

Twenty-seventh annual session of the Tennessee Negro Education Association was held at the college April 14-18, with President Martin Jenkins of Morgan college delivering the main address. Newly elected officers of the association are George R. Key, Chattanooga, president; C. C. Bond, Lexington, first vice-president; Mrs. E. M. Lee, Franklin, second vice-president; Monroe Senter, Knoxville, third vice-president; Mrs. Algee Outlaw, Brownsville, assistant secretary; Mrs. Carrie Denny, Nashville, assistant recording secretary; and J. S. Seets, parliamentarian. Retained in office are executive secretary, Dr. G. W. Gore of Nashville; recording secretary, La Vera Seets, of Ripley; and treasurer, Martha Brown, of Nashville.

Dr. Marion R. Myles, associate professor of agronomy, was a participant in meetings of the southeastern section of the Botanical Society of America April 14-16 held at the University of Tennessee. Dr. H. F. Mells, director of music, recently had two musical compositions published by the Handy brothers Music Co., Inc., New York City. A recent speaker at the college was Joseph F. Albright, special assistant to the administrator of veterans' affairs, Washington, D. C.

Story of the FISK UNIVERSITY Jubilee Singers is told by G. Robert Tipton in the May, 1949, issue of the *Reader's Digest.* The *Digest* article, condensed from the *Missionary Herald,* follows the first tour of the singers from their early disappointments to their eventual triumphs.

Sixth Institute of Race Relations will open at Fisk on June 27 for two weeks, running through July 9. A national

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laboratory, the institute is arranged to provide scientific "know-how" for meeting the problems of man-to-man relations as they affect our home town, our country, and the world. The session this summer will concentrate on the social and political implications of human rights. Promoted annually by the race relations department of the American Missionary Association, the institute is under the general direction of Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk.

Eighty-fourth annual commencement speaker at SHAW UNIVERSITY on May 30 was Dr. Charles Sylvester Green, editor of the Durham, N. C., *Morning Herald*. The baccalaureate sermon was preached on May 29 by the Rev. J. Pius Barbour, editor of the *National Baptist Voice*.

Nearly ninety-five percent of the 1948 Shaw graduates interested in teaching were placed, according to a report released by Dr. Nelson H. Harris, director of the university's bureau of appointments.

Among the interesting conferences held on the campus was the Baptist Student conference in March. More than one hundred students representing Baptist Student Union organizations throughout the state participated in the sessions. Ninth annual theological day was observed by several score ministerial graduates of the university on April 20. The annual address was delivered by the Rev. James Kirkland of Philadelphia, pastor of the Union Baptist church.

Col. W. T. Joyner, prominent Raleigh attorney, has been elected to fill the vacancy on the Shaw trustee board caused through the death of Senator J. Melville Broughton. Dr. G. O. Bullock of Washington, D. C., was re-elected chairman of the board.

A letter and a check was received by the university in April from one of its graduates, repaying eight percent with interest, a loan of $35 made to him forty-one years ago. Made out in the amount of $149.80, the check repayed a loan contracted by Dr. Edward S. Portis of Albany, Ga., at the time he was a student in the Leonard Medical school of Shaw. The debt had long been forgotten by the school, but not by Dr. Portis.

The Shaw choral society completed its six-day northern tour in April, after having given concerts in Baltimore, Md., New York City, Ossining, N. Y., New Haven, Conn., and Summit, N. J. The Shaw players, under the direction of Mrs. Ethlynne H. Thomas, presented John Van Druten's three-act com-

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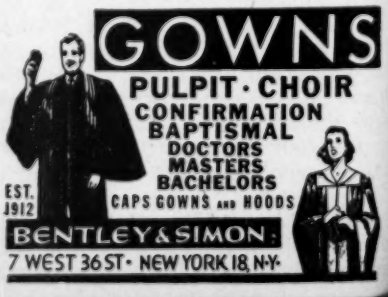

edy, *The Voice of the Turtle,* in April.

Juanellas D. Mitchell of Iager, W. Va., was first prize winner in the Conforth declamatory Bible contest held at STORER COLLEGE in April. Second prize went to Urquhart Dixon of Alexandria, Va.; Albert Jackson of Fredricksburg, Va., won honorable mention.

Fifty-eight students made the dean's list at KENTUCKY STATE COLLEGE for the winter quarter 1948-1949. Six students had an average of 2.8 or better. The music department, in cooperation with the National Music Association, celebrated national music week May 1-6. Some of the highlights of the week's program were a band concert under the direction of Henry A. Green, an organ recital by Harry B. Baker, and a musicale by the college choir.

Keith Rawlins, a WILBERFORCE STATE COLLEGE sophomore, was recently elected president of the Ohio Valley Conference of International Relations Clubs at its annual meeting held at Union college, Barbourville, Ky. Next annual meeting of the conference will be held on the campus of Wilberforce State.

SPELMAN COLLEGE observed its sixty-eighth founder's day on April 10, with the main address being delivered by Dr. Wallace McPherson Alston, vice-president and professor of philosophy at Agnes Scott college. The speaker challenged the students to live better lives through the channels of human friendship, by championing great causes, and by the inauguration of great ideas in their communities.

Alonzo Graseano Moron has been elected the first Negro president of HAMPTON INSTITUTE by an unanimous vote of its board of trustees. Although the first Negro president, Mr. Moron is in point of time the seventh: the others having been Samuel Chapman Armstrong, the founder; Hollis Burke Frissell, James Edgar Gregg, George Perley Phenix, Arthur Howe, Malcolm Shaw MacLean, and Dr. Ralph P. Bridgman. Another Negro, R. O'Hara Lanier, now president of Texas State university, was acting president, 1933-1934, pending the election of Dr. Ralph Bridgman.

Mr. Moron was born at St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, on April 12, 1909. He was educated in the public schools of his native town; entered Hampton in 1923 to complete his high school work, and in 1927 received his diploma from the department of upholstery. In 1932 he was graduated with Phi Beta Kappa ranking from Brown university, and a year later he received a graduate degree in the social sciences from the University of Pittsburgh.

Professor Robert H. Brisbane of the department of history and political science at MOREHOUSE COLLEGE has passed his final comprehensive examinations at Harvard university, thus satisfying all requirements for the Ph.D. degree from that institution. Title of his doctoral thesis is "The Rise of Protest Movements among Negroes since 1900." Professor Brisbane, who holds a B.A. from St. Johns college, Brooklyn, N. Y., and the M.A. from Harvard, has been on the Morehouse faculty since 1948. Twelve members of the Morehouse faculty, including Professor Brisbane, hold doctorates in their field of specialization.

The college observed national vocational guidance week March 20-26. Throughout the week Dr. C. L. Shartle of Ohio State university, an eminent authority on vocational guidance, was present on the campus for consultations with students and to lend whatever assistance he could in this effort at professional orientation. Among prominent speakers present were George Edwards, southern field representative of the National Urban League; J. R. Henderson, manager of the John Eagan Homes; and A. A. Reid, comptroller of Atlanta university.

Ira DeA. Reid, chairman of the department of sociology at Haverford college, Haverford, Penn., addressed the college student body at their chapel exercises on April 13. At request of the college French department, Morehouse has received a number of gifts from the French Gratitude Train. The college glee club has just returned from a successful concert tour which included Detroit, Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton, Cincinnati, and Chattanooga in their itinerary.

Ten award winners at ATLANTA UNIVERSITY's eighth annual exhibition of paintings, sculpture, and prints by Negro artists were Lois Mailou Jones of Washington, D. C., winner of the John Hope Purchase award of $250 for her landscape "Ville d'Houdain—France"; Cecil D. Nelson of Champaign, Ill., who captured the $300 Edward B. Al-

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ford Purchase award for his figure painting "Self-Portrait — Confronted Age, 16"; Frederick D. Jones, Jr., of Chicago, Ill., who took the first Atlanta university award of $150 for his oil painting "The Daughter of Eve"; Romeyn Van Lippman of Boston, Mass., who received the first water color award of $125 for his "Baptismal"; Walter A. Simon of Savannah, Ga., who won the second water color award of $75 for his "Abstraction—The City —No. 3"; Charles W. Stallings of Baltimore, Md., who won the first Edward B. Alford Purchase award of $250 for sculpture for his alabaster head called "Soothsayer"; Jewel Simon of Atlanta, Ga., who won the second sculpture award of $100 for her plaster head called "Hattie"; Charles White of New York City who won the first prize of $25 in the graphic arts for his lithograph entitled "Youth"; Samella Sanders of Columbus, Ohio, who won the second award of $15 in the graphic arts for her linoleum block called "Head"; and James H. Malone of Atlanta, Ga., who received the third award of $10 for his pencil drawing entitled "My Classmate."

Honorable mention went to four artists: Hayward L. Oubre, Jr., of Tallahassee, Fla.; William E. Pajaud, Jr., of Los Angeles, Calif.; Robert E. Jones of Chicago, Ill.; and Samella Sanders.

Serving as judges of the show were Lewis P. Skidmore, former director of the High Museum in Atlanta; R. Crawford Livingston, artist and a member of the faculty of Oglethorpe university; and Felix Payant, artist and a former editor of *Design Magazine*, Toledo, Ohio. Approximately 250 works of art were entered in the 1949 competition.

The Trevor Arnett Library of Atlanta university was dedicated on April 10 by President James Ross McCain of Agnes Scott college, Decatur, Ga. President Florence Read of Spelman unveiled the bust of Mr. Arnett at the close of the tribute by Dr. McCain.

Students of the university library school took their annual spring tour of Washington and Baltimore libraries in April, listening to a series of lectures by specialists in the field of librarianship.

VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE will be host to the seventh annual summer school for ministers for two three-week periods, June 20-July 29 and July 8-July 11. Dr. Harry W. Roberts of the department of sociology will serve as director of the summer school for ministers.

Over three thousand farmers attended the Annual Farmers Conference held at the college on April 7, with Dr. Carl C. Taylor, head of the division of farm population and rural life in the U. S. Department of Agriculture, as the chief speaker. Fifteenth annual music festival began at the college on April 9 when over 800 students representing 17 high schools in Virginia were presented in mixed choruses and glee clubs in the college auditorium. The festival was under the direction of Mrs. Aldena W. Davis, assistant state supervisor of music.

Wide World

SENIOR CLASS PRESIDENT *William S. Hatchett, 21, of Verona, N. J., stands outside a building at Rutgers college, New Brunswick, N. J. Elected president of the senior class at Rutgers, Hatchett is the first Negro to win this honor.*

Army day was observed at the college on April 7, with an ROTC regimental parade on the front campus climaxing the day's activities.

Fifty-fourth annual commencement of WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE was held on May 29, with Senator Harley H. Kilgore as the commencement speaker. The annual baccalaureate service was held on May 28, with President John W. Davis delivering the address.

Professors John F. Matheus, of the department of romance languages, and J. Ruben Sheeler, of the department of history, represented the college at the meeting of the Board of Foreign Scholarships for educational exchange under the Fulbright Act.

Thirty-fifth national Negro health week was celebrated at the college on April 7.

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Editorials

RUNOUT

THE kindest view of the announcement of Senator Scott W. Lucas, Majority Leader, that welfare and civil rights legislation have been dropped for this session of Congress is that the Truman administration has staged a runout on the pledges in the Philadelphia platform and in the speeches of the President himself. The Americans for Democratic Action, supporters of the President and chief architects of the civil rights plank at Philadelphia, used the blunt word, "betrayal."

Senator Lucas made his announcement as he left the White House after conferring with Mr. Truman, yet two days later the President told a delegation that he was still pressing for his civil rights program. A day later he intimated at his regular press conference that Senator Lucas was not speaking for the White House.

Are the people who want civil rights getting the runaround from the administration? The record would seem to indicate that they are, even if Mr. Truman personally is sincere in his beliefs.

1. Although both parties knew after the election that a change in the Senate rules was to be the first business of the new Congress, nothing was done on this or any other business during the month of January. On January 24 hearings were begun on resolutions to change the rules so as to cut off filibusters after a reasonable time.

2. At these hearings Republican Senator Wayne Morse stepped out in front with his resolution. Democratic Senator Carl Hayden teamed with Republican Senator Kenneth Wherry on a resolution which meant only a half-step advance, since it retained the old two-thirds rule which had been demonstrated to be ineffective.

3. When Vice President Barkley ruled that cloture applied to motions to bring up legislation as well as to legislation itself, three Democrats outside the Deep South voted not to uphold him. Had the administration held them in line, Barkley would have been upheld by a vote of 44-43.

4. In the disorganization following the defeat of the Barkley ruling the administration leadership accepted the Wherry so-called compromise resolution (which was no compromise in any sense of the word) providing for cloture by 64 votes and no cloture whatsoever on any motion to change the rules.

5. After failing to fight for a rules change that would permit the consideration of civil rights legislation as such, the administration discouraged, refused to sponsor, or actively opposed amendments to federal-aid-to-education and public housing legislation which would have barred racial segregation.

6. Finally on May 24, Majority Leader Lucas announced that civil rights would be among the items passed over by this session of Congress.

That record does not look like the one of an administration which really and truly wants to do something about civil rights. President Truman may want something done, but so far he has not been able to get his leaders on the Congressional front to devise and execute a strategy to get it done. It is admitted that the Dixiecrat wing of the Democratic party could not be counted upon for help. It was known that the Republicans would be reluctant to assist in the passage of civil rights bills since they would not want the Democrats to get credit for their passage. It was known that a loose coalition between Republicans and Dixiecrats has functioned in the past and could be expected to continue.

But, although the Republicans had pledged themselves to civil rights legislation, apparently no efforts were made to jockey them into a position where they could not refuse to go along on certain measures. Apparently no effort has been made to put party pressure on such men as Hayden and McFarland of Arizona and McCarran of Nevada who are outside the heavy Negro voting areas.

The fact seems to be that the civil rights program has merely been announced; it has not been *fought for.* The Republicans, meanwhile, are gleeful. While they have been guilty of shameless obstruction and sabotage, they nevertheless can say that the Truman administration has not made a fight for civil rights, it has not forced a bill to the point where it can be shown from the voting record on a measure that the GOP opposes civil rights.

The millions of Negro voters who chose the Truman administration last November are shocked at the above record and the final runout announced May 24. They still demand action at this regular session or at a called special session for civil rights only. If Mr. Truman and his Congressional leaders fail at this point to apprehend the extent of the growing doubts and disillusionment they may understand them more clearly after the 1950 election.

NON-SEGREGATION CLAUSES

THE NAACP is supporting non-segregation clauses in federal housing and education bills because:

1. We do not believe federal funds should be used to further intrench the vicious system of jim-crow education which has cheated several millions of Negro boys and girls and young men and women of a decent education and thus assisted materially in holding the race in second-class citizenship.

2. We know that the federal funds now being distributed to the states are not allocated fairly in the states having separate systems based upon race, so it is improbable that—even if the jim-crow system were acceptable—the new funds would be distributed equitably.

3. We do not believe that federal funds should be used to build and strengthen ghetto housing, the very existence of which guarantees ghetto schools, ghetto thinking, and all the attendant discriminations.

The NAACP believes that the people who want segregation should take the responsibility for defeating this legislation and the non-segregation clause. Let the representatives of South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi and the rest declare for and vote to have no federal aid rather than non-segregated federal aid. Thus far they have not been forced to defend the jim-crow system or make a choice *because northern and western senators, including some liberals, have saved them the trouble by voting against the non-segregation clauses.*

The prospect of smashing the evil of segregation in housing and education will become dim, indeed, if a federal policy backed by federal millions pumps new vigor into the structure.

Editors Speak on the Senate Filibuster

By James W. Ivy

IT WAS agreed at the end of the 80th Congress that the first business of the 81st would be to tighten the rules on filibuster. This was a "must" if the Administration was to get any of its civil-rights proposals enacted into law. But the Democratic leadership dilly-dallyed a month before holding hearings, and it was not until February 28 that they actually got around to doing something. Then a group of Southern Democrats began their sixteen-day filibuster for the purpose of preventing any rules change to make cloture easier. Although the Democrats have a paper majority of twelve (which is totally ineffectual in practice), it took a coalition of Republican and southern Democratic senators to prescribe the terms under which the filibuster would be called off. Technically, the fight was provoked by Senate Resolution 15, an amendment to the cloture rule of the Senate. Actually, however, the stupendous irrelevancies of the filibuster were concerned with President Truman's civil-rights program, and every editor tried in one way or another to make this issue the fulcrum of his discussion.

In our attempt to get a cross section of American editorial opinion on the filibuster, we examined the editorials in more than three hundred papers in all sections of the country, including the large metropolitan dailies as well as the little papers of the hinterland.

The first thing we remarked was the large number of editors who felt it necessary to give "a brief ABC on the filibuster and other complicated doings in the Senate." Many likewise felt it necessary to give a detailed history of the filibuster as well as its *modus operandi*. From this we infer that many editors believed their readers ignorant of the mechanics of a Senate filibuster. Many editors, too, irrespective of their sectional differences and political affiliations, regarded a filibuster in a legislative body elected to face such hot national issues as rent control, ERP, the Atlantic pact, and the snarled international situation as the height of folly. "Maybe what has been going on in Washington this week [March 19]," explained Herman A. Lowe in the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, "is part of the reason why we are so far from an open book to others—or even to ourselves." Even Asiatics, he continues, will now find it impossible to understand "the devious mental processes of the inscrutable Americans."

The sixteen-day Senate filibuster of February 28-March 17, ostensibly over the technicalities of cloture but really over President Truman's controversial civil-rights program, evoked a torrential flow of editorial opinion throughout the country, some of which is examined below

"Too many important matters of legislation," thought the St. Petersburg, Fla., *Times*, "are impending for the Senate to go on indefinitely with southern senators spouting off in defense of an indefensible and undemocratic institution."

The Dayton, Ohio, *News* looked at it this way:

> While democratic nations, eight of them, were demonstrating their ability to move swiftly and in unison—an opposite showing was being made all week in the domestic affairs of the most important of these nations. This was the showing of weakness and futility by which the American Senate allowed itself to be tied up by a talkfest until the majority had yielded to a minority of the senators. Important legislative programs could not even be considered until a minority opposed to just one of them had nailed down the virtual assurance of being able to block it forever by filibustering.

Another striking fact noted in the editorials examined was the lack of any consistent division of opinion along strictly geographical lines. Roughly speaking, the majority of northern, as well as many western, editors were against the filibuster *pro forma* although they were not always in favor of Mr. Truman's civil-rights program. This comment from the Tucson, Arizona, *Citizen* reflects this point of view:

> We believe the right of the individual states to police their own affairs is mandated by the Constitution. . . . The debate of the civil liberties problem in congress will never produce an answer to the problem. Whether it is wise to attempt to force a free intermingling with, and acceptance of racial minorities, will still be a question of individual taste rather than mere obedience to a federal or state law. Socially, race discrimination, if such it may be termed, is even now the problem of individuals in the mass rather than a constitutional or political problem.

Southern papers on the other hand, even when they did not express open opposition to the civil-rights program, were, with a few notable exceptions, invariably in sympathy with the filibusterers and their aims. Perhaps this was to be expected. It is significant, too, that of the people (who knew what a filibuster was) polled by Gallup fifty per cent of the Southerners were found to disapprove of any changes in Senate rules to end discussion by a simple majority.

It goes without saying that editors in the Deep South were much more enthusiastic in their support than their fellows in the border states. In this area we often encountered the gaudy spectacle of editors expounding the difference between a majority (which *Webster's* tells us means "the number greater than half") and "a majority proportionate to the importance of the subject." However, close scrutiny of pro-filibuster northern and pro-filibuster southern sentiment reveals certain differences despite their apparent surface agreement.

WALTER F. GEORGE (D.-Ga.)
". . . the real driving force back of FEPC is complete social rights . . ."

The pro-filibuster northern editor seemed casual in his attitude toward the civil-rights proposals. Whether they ever became actualities did not seem to disturb him. He usually accepted the principle but often made reservations on the readiness of the American public "to welcome civil rights into the everyday life of its community." This is the view of the Elmira, N. Y., *Star-Gazette* when it dubbed the civil-rights program "the blockbuster method of a Constitutional amendment." We have tried this method "to put the Negro voter on an equal footing in the South," the editorial adds. "Local practice, however, has fought the law. That can happen, unfortunately, when a law is imposed for which people are not ready." The Goshen, Ind., *News-Democrat* gleefully favored the filibuster because it is a sort of veto. "This power is in effect," opines the editor, "no different from the veto powers which we give our president and the governors of our states. They also prevent a majority of the legislature from carrying out its wishes."

"There are enough laws on the books to guarantee him [the Negro] all his rights, if enforced," reasons the Bay City, Mich., *Times*. "Few thoughtful people believe new ones could be more effective."

Such arguments served, of course, in practice as an apologetic for the filibuster. But perhaps the most quixotic evasion of all was that of the Hempstead, N. Y., *Newsday*. After commenting favorably on recent New Jersey legislation to outlaw discrimination in hotels, restaurants, bath houses, etc., the editor theorized that enlightened law-making in the North would set an example for the South, thus making the civil-rights program unnecessary. He concluded:

> Once it becomes universal in the north, southern states can be expected to catch the idea and spirit of tolerance and brotherhood from the north [Sic!]. But progress of this kind can be achieved only by using the light rein of reason, not by cracking the whip, in the north as well as the south.

Unabashed Supporters

Among northern and western papers supporting the filibuster, we found only two unabashed supporters of the southern position. One was the Concord, N. H., *Daily Monitor;* the other, the

RUSSELL LONG (D.-La.)
". . . We have to be politicians if we are to win elections from time to time . . ."

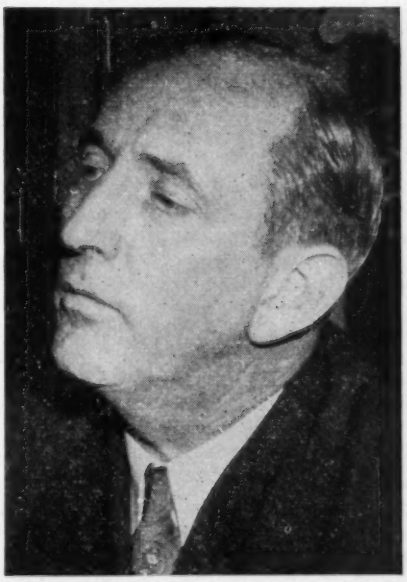
Boston, Mass., *Christian Science Monitor*. Actually, the views of the *Daily Monitor* were so southerly orthodox that several so-red-the-rose editors puffed them as ringing "the bell on this question as soundly as any deep south states' righter could."

These excerpts from the March 10 editorial of the *Christian Science Monitor* summarize the position of that great Boston daily:

> It will be helpful if the debate on the limitation of debate in the United States Senate eventually lays bare the real issue. Southern senators have helped the public to see that there are grave dangers in a majority riding roughshod over a minority. We hope they have brought new light also to inexperienced enthusiasts who believe that social equality can be established by federal statute. But most of them have also unfortunately obscured the question actually before the Senate. . . .
>
> This newspaper believes cloture by a majority would be destructive of the spirit of the Constitution, which gave special protection to minorities. We also believe that several parts of Mr. Truman's legislative program are unwise. But we do not believe that a few senators should be able to paralyze Congress.

Here are the lines of argument followed by many pro-filibuster northern and western editors: The filibuster defended constitutional processes and traditional senate rules; it prevented a majority from riding roughshod over a minority; it preserved the right of individual states to police their own affairs; it preserved personal liberties; it prevented a majority from railroading legislation through the senate; it preserved the spirit of the Constitution by forbidding cloture by a majority; and it cut President Truman down to size, disrupting his steam roller tactics. And in the words of that great obfuscator, Walter Lippmann, it prevented a majority in congress from passing laws that a minority of the whole nation living in a minority of the states dislikes.

These arguments are all captious and superficial. They remind us of nothing so much as the sophism mentioned by Aristotle: A Moore is black; but in regard to his teeth he is white; therefore, he is black and not black at the same moment. In the same manner, so reason these editors, Mr. Truman's



RICHARD B. RUSSELL (D.-Ga.)
". . . the Senate of the United States . . . is the last refuge of oppressed minorities . . ."

civil-rights proposals are for and against minority rights at the same time.

When we come to examine in detail the views of the pro-filibuster southern editors, we shall see that their line of reasoning, except in fervency, differs not a whit from that followed by their northern and western sympathizers. One minor difference is that the pro-filibuster northern or western editors, as we have previously stated, were more likely to accept the principles of the civil-rights proposals, even when they doubted their workability, while their southern counterparts would be opposed in both principle and practice to the whole idea. Southern editors seemed to feel a personal responsibility in the matter, with the attitude of mind of the Southerner who views any federal social legislation as an attempt "to destroy the present social structure of the South."

But even this personal responsibility was assumed without any of that old-time invective that used to delight the connoisseurs of word-and-mud-slinging. As a matter of fact the filibuster itself was a rather tame affair. All the old vinegary Confederate juices seemed to have turned to soda pop. We could not find even a good rebel yell. There was no violent denunciation of "damn Yankees" or boorish abuse and slandering of Negroes, and precious little of that attitude of mind which keeps the War Between the States ever alive and contemporary. Down in Nashville, Tenn., the *Banner* yelped that "Mr. Truman declares war on the South"; and the Asheville, N. C. *Times* complained that "the South has always been the victim of grossly misleading and unfair publicity in other parts of the nation on matters relating to the Negro problem."

Many editors yelled out in support of the filibusterers with such chiding phrases as "anti-South 'hate' political measures" (Anderson, S. C., *Independent*), "second Reconstruction" (Talladega, Ala., *Home*), "civil disturbance program" (Montgomery, Ala., *Advertiser*), "vendetta of pressure groups" (Nashville, Tenn., *Banner*), "tyranny staved off again" (Chattanooga, Tenn., *News-Free Press*), "gigantic catfish stew and beer for everybody" (Ridgeland, S. C., *Jasper County Record*), and "President Truman's civil rights (social equality) forces" (Shreveport, La., *Journal*).

Social Equality

As for "social equality", Drew Pearson reported many southern senators as being worried "over the ultimate intermarriage of the races. That, Russell feared, was what the Truman program would eventually lead to if no terminus was fixed." Many editors seemed especially worried about FEPC. They expressed fear that the "usurpation" of private rights would get in through the backdoor of FEPC. Therefore, supporting the filibuster would kill the civil-rights program—and FEPC. Even Senator Claude Pepper of Florida, one of the two anti-filibuster Southerners, when questioned on the floor of the Senate was quick to recognize "the delicate line which is involved in that legislation [FEPC]" (*Congressional Record*, March 10). The Greensboro, N. C., *Daily News* claims that "FEPC legislation was really what had the South in general in a filibuster mood. It was the monkey wrench in the machinery."

"To accept the FEPC would be to accept," grumbles the Talladega, Ala., *Home*, "the right of the federal government to dictate an individual's choice of associates or employees." While willing to accept compromises on other phases of the civil-rights program (anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, etc.), the *Star* of Anniston, Ala., professed to see FEPC as an attack on southern segregation. "The South will continue to resist to the very last resource of its knowledge and endurance any attempt to force a non-segregation law that would have the effect of aggravating racial prejudice." According to the High Point, N. C., *Enterprise*, "the fact is that most of the southerners are opposed to stupid proposals, especially the FEPC thing, which would set back civil rights ten years." Chortled the Nashville, Tenn., *Banner*: "The South wouldn't dance to the FEPC-Leftwing piping nor sit silently in sackcloth and ashes." The *Banner* then sneered that Mr. Truman had taken "over the assignment of chief Whirling Dervish of the FEPC'ers."

There were two Mid-Western papers which seemed thoroughly persuaded that the southern credenda on FEPC was the correct one. In Muncie, Ind., the *Star* did "not believe that social equality can be successfully imposed by law on an unwilling majority in the South." And the Coshocton, Ohio, *Tribune* claimed to have detected the ghost of Heinrich Himmler's Gestapo in the civil-rights proposals. Hence Tribune readers were asked to reserve judgment on the Southerners and their filibuster:

> What happens to our boasted liberties if a man who prefers blondes is compelled to hire a Negro, Jewish, Spanish, Greek or Chinese secretary? Such compulsion smacks of the Gestapo. And think of the opportunities for racketeers which an anti-discrimination law offers! Professionals, claiming that their incompetent clients had been discriminated against would soon be hounding employers everywhere.

Now before we summarize the southern arguments offered in support of the filibuster, let us glance at some sample quotations from pro-filibuster papers. In Newport News, Va., the *Daily Press* commented as follows:

> Nobody with any sense of right and wrong wants any of the innate rights to which a citizen is born taken artificially away from him. But citizens who know the difference between state sovereignty as guaranteed in the Constitution and federal intrusion on that sovereignty object vehemently to the methods proposed by Mr. Truman and some elements of the Democratic Party to gain the desired ends: severance of the capitation tax from the right to vote, eradication of lynch law, and the end of discrimination.

"For some reason or other a few of our dyspeptic men in Washington," jeers the Montgomery, Ala., *Alabama Journal*, "think the South is loser by the recent filibuster. They pretend to be afraid that a filibuster will not be so easy in the future. They shudder to think that Trumanites may deny TVA its rights. They abhor the idea of having the gravy train pass through the South without stopping. . . . It is only a few of the weaker ones, timid over their participation in an epochal event, who think the South has suffered either in strength, in loss of prestige or otherwise by the outcome of the dramatic contest in the Senate."

Southern Comment

Down in Texas the Vernon *Record* believed that "Nothing of real value has been lost and we have gained in this evidence that ours is a government of law where minority rights are as sacred as those of the majority."

Commented the Shreveport, La., *Journal*:

> The prize which the filibusterers produced is the defeat of the civil rights legislation at the present session. It may be too much to hope it will prevent such unfair law-making for all time, but for the present the danger is removed.

The Memphis, Tenn., *Commercial Appeal* looked at it this way:

> The filibustering tactic has patent defects in theory, but it also has certain safeguards against partisan action directed for log-rolling political purposes against one section of the Nation's people. While there is so much talk about how to prevent filibusters, we should like to suggest that avoidance of studied provocation is one splendid means always at hand.

The Chattanooga, Tenn., *News-Free Press* blames the filibuster on the NAACP:

> In their zeal to run roughshod over the South to pay the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the CIO and other radical groups, all 'minorities,' by the way, for votes delivered last November, the Administration strategists have smashed up the whole Truman legislative program.

The editor admits, however, that the Republicans who voted with the south-

erners on cloture would probably vote for the civil-rights bills if they ever came to vote in the Senate.

Comforts the Selma, Ala., *Times-Journal*:

> Thus the Solid South again would come into its own [as result of the filibuster], and it would achieve this state without actual severance from party allegiance.

"No brow-beating law which Congress could possibly pass would help the situation or accelerate the progress of goodwill and mutual understanding which is existing among the races in the South," purrs the Kinston, N. C., *Free Press.*

When we come to examine the lines of argument of the pro-filibuster southern editors, we discover that they are almost identical with those used by partisans of the filibuster in other sections of the country. They remind us of nothing so much as that breathless eagerness of Don Quixote which transmogrified the barber's brass basin into Mambrino's gold helmet. The editors wished the filibuster to be a fight for minority rights and state sovereignty and in their eyes that is what it became. Their arguments ran like this: the filibuster prevented invasion of the states' police power; kept the Solid South solid and holding the balance of power; offered a minority one protection against the tyranny of the majority; demonstrated that the South cannot be insulted and kicked around; prevented choking off the minority view on any subject by the majority; preserved state sovereignty as guaranteed by the Constitution; proved that ours is a government of law where minority rights are as sacred as those of the majority; and was a victory for free debate.

Not all southern papers, of course, favored the filibuster. Perphaps about a dozen expressed open opposition. And they were opposed to the filibuster qua filibuster, not because it prevented the President's civil-rights program from being considered on its merits in open debate on the floor of the Senate. Among these papers were the Sturgis, Ky., *News;* the Durham, N. C., *Herald,* and *Sun;* the St. Petersburg, Fla., *Times;* the Waynesboro, Va., *News-Virginian;* and the Towson, Md., *Union News.* Others expressed opposition with qualifications: the *Advertiser,* Montgomery, Ala.; *Courier-Journal,* Louisville, Ky.; and the *Progress-Index,* Petersburg, Va. The *Courier-Journal* called it "the unhappy 16 days of unstoppable language," and put the blame on the shoulders of the President and his administration. ". . . The fight was lost for the Administration by ineptness, poor timing and, on the part of the President himself, by indiscretion of words and cocksureness of manner." Though "the filibuster has not been an inspiring spectacle," laments the *Progress-Index;* "the sooner the question [of civil rights] is removed from national politics the better for all concerned." The Chattanooga, Tenn., *Times* believes that "Actually there was glory for none and a little discredit for all in the farce through which the Senate has just gone."

Several editors opined that though the South had won a battle it stood to lose the war. "But something the rest of the country seems unable or unwilling to understand is that a very great many southerners jubilant over the instant outcome had in the back of their minds some reservations and questions," is the view of the Montgomery, Ala., *Advertiser.*

Opinion on Coalition

There was a great contrariety of editorial opinion on the meaning of the reactionary coalition of southern Democrats and western Republicans which made the filibuster successful. One extreme view was that the filibuster proves that the traditional two-party system no longer exists. According to this interpretation the 81st Congress has made obvious what has been apparent for more than a decade; namely, that there are really four parties: Republicans, regular Democrats, liberal Democrats, and Dixiecrats. Another editor grimaces with disappointment and declares that the civil-rights filibuster battle demonstrates the existence of two political divisions—not parties—in the Senate. These two political divisions are the reactionaries and the progressives, "with the so-called Dixiecrats and some Republicans in the one camp, and the administration Democrats and the remainder of the Republicans in the other." The Ansonia, Conn., *Sentinel* claims that for all practical purposes there were three parties during the filibuster: the Dixiecrats, the Southern Democrats, and the Republicans.

While recognizing that party labels were confused during the filibuster, few editors viewed this coalition as more than an expedient. "The President can take consolation, however," explains the Huntington Park, Calif., *Daily Signal,* "from one significant fact: the two elements in his opposition on this fight opposed him for two very different reasons. There is no reason to expect the same forces to combine on any other issue." The Hartford, Conn., *Courant* warns:

> As to the coalition itself, it would be unwise to conclude that it marks the beginning of a new political alignment. It could be the crystallization of one that has been obvious for some years. Even so, it has functioned only in limited areas. And on an out-and-out showdown on the matter of civil rights, it is not at all certain that all of the twenty-two Republican Senators would stand against civil-rights bills. To them the question of changing the rules was not the same as voting on a bill outlawing the poll tax, for example.

The Memphis, Tenn., *Cotton Trade Journal* believes that the filibuster turned up two brands of Democrats: the Truman Democrats and the Jeffersonian Democrats. Southern Democrats who voted against administration-sponsored measures did so, this paper claims, on the principles of Jeffersonian democracy. ". . . We may be witnessing," continues this journal, "the incipient stages of a new political line-up in the United States; on the one hand, a party based on States' Rights, local self-government, free enterprise and all the other guarantees of the Constitution; on the other, a left-of-center organization having its roots in the New Deal and brought to fruition by an alliance between Truman Democrats and labor leaders."

The Charleston, S. C., *News & Courier* believes that the coalition demonstrates that in "southern states the 'one party system' is a dead thing. There is not and not again will be a 'Solid South.' Southern white people will be under attack from 'Liberals,' white and colored, from both national parties. The evidence before them this day is that they have more to expect in help from the national Republicans than from the national 'Democrats.'"

Several southern editors viewed Republican assistance to the southern Democrats as merely a partisan political maneuver designed to play "hob with Mr. Truman's whole scheme of legislation." One or two editors felt that the position of the Republicans in the coalition was morally reprehensible. "Committed for generations to the principles set forth in the civil-rights proposals, the position of the Republican leadership," thinks the Nashville, Tenn., *Tennessean,* "is in a different moral category." The Chattanooga, Tenn., *Times* argues along the same line:

> The Republicans have dealt Mr. Truman a temporary blow, but one which will assuredly boomerang against them when the voters ask them to explain why they favored the filibuster they were pledged to fight, and why they scuttled civil rights legislation which they were loudly vocal in sponsoring in their campaign.

And the Alton, Iowa, *Democrat* points out: "Now the Southerners are acting on their convictions, so there is some excuse for them, but none for the twenty-three Republicans."

These contradistinct opinions of two leading southern columnists we feel should be quoted because they show the abyss which so often divides South-

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A Report on the Brown Britishers

By St. Clair Drake

TWICE within a year I have had the experience of an Atlantic crossing and re-crossing. In the summer of 1947 it was a quiet nine-day voyage over on the *Ernie Pyle* and a lively nine-day return trip on the *Marine Tiger* crammed to the gun turrets with students homeward bound from a summer in Europe and with young Asiatics and Europeans looking forward to a college career in America. In February of 1948 it was a swift four-day run on the *Queen Mary* and an equally swift return in June on what the English affectionately call "The Lizzie."

That bird named James stayed in his crow's nest on the *Ernie Pyle*, but came out once on the *Marine Tiger* when a Georgia schoolmarm objected to "so many niggers and such on the boat" (there were about 100 colored persons out of 600). The college students sent her to Coventry in quick order. On the two Queens the old bird was flying both going and coming, but in very subtle fashion. I found out from my Irish bath steward that they had hastily moved my white cabin mate when they discovered that his fellow occupant was a Negro.

There was also an attempt to jim crow a lone Indian student and me in the dining salon. On the westbound voyage I found that a deliberate shifting about had been done at the last minute to get the Africans and Indians paired off in cabins together. This was unnecessary official nervousness, for there was certainly no evidence of antagonism among the passengers, although all American eyes did "buck" at a Frenchman who was proudly walking around with his mulatto wife and two kids.

Tails and Brown Babies

Part of my excuse for this transatlantic voyaging was a Julius Rosenwald fellowship to study the impact of colored American troops on the British people. In addition to reading every available published source, I poked in and out of pubs and parson's parlors, and tried out my brand of Mass Observation and Gallup polling in trams, buses, and on street corners; in high places and low. The simple verdict is that the British liked the Brown Yanks tremendously. However, I have yet to find one Englishman who will admit that any white American ever told him that Negroes had tails.

In this piece the co-author of* Black Metropolis *tells what he discovered about the condition of the colored Britisher

Much of my time was spent investigating the so-called "Brown Baby Problem." Newspapers are still citing such *enormous figures as* 10,000, but I have a standing offer of $500 for anybody that can find more than 2,000 *colored war babies* in Britain. I had several visits with Pastor G. Daniels Ekarte in Liverpool whose African Churches Mission has been well publicized in the United States. He has ten babies at his mission and helps to support about 100 more. His great dream is to raise $50,000 in America to build a Booker T. Washington children's home for the babies.

Dr. Malcolm Joseph-Mitchell of the less well-publicized League of Colored Peoples (Britain's NAACP) is caring for about 50 children out of the League's meager resources and is working hard on a unique adoption program for the placing of colored children with British families. He has a list of nearly 300 white applicants for babies. Adoptions in America seem remote at present as English law does not sanction the procedure.

About half of Britain's colored war babies are reasonably well adjusted in institutions or in the homes of relatives, adopters or foster parents, but many unmarried English girls are finding a colored baby a handicap when they look for jobs or lodgings. Many girls, too, have finally found a fiancé who will take them but not the baby. It is this group that social workers and LCP officials feel need some immediate help.

Advocates at High Court

Five out of seven people in the British Commonwealth and Empire are colored. At any one time, there are usually between 10,000 and 15,000 colored people residing in Britain: visitors and students plus a few thousand seamen in the ports of London, Cardiff, and Liverpool, along with their children. There is also a group of amazingly successful doctors and dentists in cities such as London, Birmingham, Manchester, and a scattering of other professionals. Both the permanent colored residents and the colonial masses have two important advocates at court: the League of Colored Peoples and the Pan-African Federation.

The League, which was founded in 1931 by Dr. Harold Moody, a Jamaican physician now deceased, carries on against great odds under the energetic and devoted leadership of Malcom Joseph-Mitchell, a young Trinidad economist. Its methods are those of our own NAACP, but with its constituents sprawled from Madagascar to the West Indies, it has a serious problem of maintaining contact and of drawing financial support from these farflung areas. It is hampered, too, by the national and tribal divisions that split up the peoples of Africa and of African descent. Slowly however, Dr. Mitchell has been able to weld together a broadly representative group of Negroes living in London to protect civil-rights and to act as a link between colonial movements and London officialdom.

The Pan-African Federation, founded in the mid-thirties by T. Ras McKonnen, has its headquarters in Manchester and is attempting to serve the function of an integrating agency for colonial mass protest. McKonnen, before he resumed his Ethiopian name, was well-known in American educational circles as Tom Griffiths. He was a successful YMCA organizer in Texas, a student at Cornell, and attended Brookwood Labor College. The Pan-African Federation is to the League

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"Willie Stokes at the Golden Gate"

By Cy W. Record

Willie Stokes' personal history symbolizes the plight of the many thousands of Negroes who migrated to the San Francisco Bay Area during the war years and after

IN June of 1941 Willie Stokes a 27-year-old Negro farm laborer, was working on a cotton plantation in Desha county, Arkansas. It was in the flat bottom lands with the Mississippi all muddy and mighty wide just to the east. For each "can to can't" day he worked, he received credit to the amount of $1.25 at the plantation store. He was "allowed" to use a small plot of ground for a garden and was provided a two-room, windowless shack in which he lived with his wife and two children. His "understanding" with the planter provided that he could gather off the place "enough wood to cook with."

In June of 1943 Willie Stokes was working as a welder in Yard Number 2 of the Kaiser Shipbuilding Company in Richmond, California, just across and up the bay from San Francisco. On a clear day, he could see the giant red tiers of the Golden Gate Bridge towering above the brown hills and on beyond, the city, its buildings all white in the mid-day sun. For each eight-hour day he worked he was paid ten dollars—in cash. Nominal deductions were made for social security payments and health and medical fees.

He bought his price-controlled groceries from a big supermarket down on Cutting Boulevard near San Pablo Avenue. He paid a moderate rent for a four-room apartment in the conveniently located government housing project. This included lights, gas and hot and cold running water. His cooking was done with gas on a neat white range.

In June of 1946 Willie Stokes was working as a laborer in a small chemical plant on the outskirts of Richmond. He unloaded trucks, swept floors and sometimes cleaned the large heavy vats. For each eight-hour day he worked, he was paid $6.40. He continued to live in the government housing project. He still bought his groceries at the big supermarket, but the prices were much higher, and his weekly check was considerably smaller than at the shipyard.

He was no longer able to save anything from his pay. Another child, arriving during the preceding year, had added to the cost of "'getting enough for my folks to eat." Unless he worked a full week ends didn't meet, and he had to draw on his meager savings. His wife was a good cook; she kept the stove all neat and white.

In June of 1947 Willie Stokes wasn't working anywhere; he had been unemployed for seven months. At first he "made do" on unemployment compensation checks. They were gone in a few weeks and weren't enough "even when they did come." Then he used the remaining three dollars in savings. One by one, as the weeks went by and he was unable to find a job, he cashed the war bonds bought through pay deductions during 1944 and 1945. The man at the bank told him he ought to hold on to the bonds. He didn't tell him what to use for money.

Lived by Borrowing

Later he borrowed money from friends, expecting that "some job would turn up soon." To repay them he sold his car. Once when I talked with him, he had just returned from the offices of the Contra Costa County Department of Public Welfare where he had filed an application for indigent relief. He confided that the pantry wasn't exactly empty, but there was very little to cook on the neat white gas range.

Willie Stokes is not an exception. He is an example. He is an example of what is happening to many of the thousands of Negroes who migrated to the San Francisco Bay Area during the war years and later, seeking jobs in the giant shipyards and government installations — supply depots, shipping centers, training stations and repair yards. If you talk with the Negroes over in East Oakland, or in the Fillmore District in San Francisco, or in South Berkeley, or down by the Santa Fe tracks in Richmond, or in any of the segregated housing projects scattered through the Bay Area, the story will be repeated many times. Variations in small details occur, but the central pattern is constant.

It is a pattern of migration, employment in war production industries at relatively high wages, intermittent employment at lower wages during a transition period, and finally frequent and prolonged unemployment attended by an exhaustion of unemployment compensation benefits, cash savings and war bonds, and in numerous cases the indigent relief roles. This is not to suggest that all Negro workers in the area are unemployed. But conservative estimates indicate that at least one third of all Negroes in the Bay Area labor force are unable to find jobs. With total unemployment in the state exceeding 400,000 at present, Negroes can anticipate even more difficulty in finding work. The problem can be stated in a simple equation: Willie Stokes multiplied by 20,000.

In 1940 when Willie Stokes was a farm laborer in Arkansas, there were less than 20,000 Negroes in the entire San Francisco Bay Area, which included six heavily-populated counties and such cities as San Francisco, Oakland, Berkeley and Richmond, Alameda and Vallejo. By 1944 this number had increased to more than 65,000. In 1947 it stood at an estimated 103,000, the result of continued movement of war workers, veterans, and other Negro migrants. At present the total is estimated at 120,000. This gain of more than 500 percent within a nine-year period resulted in the addition of some 100,000 Negroes to the Bay Area population. In 1940 Negroes made up only a little more than one per cent of the total population. But in 1947

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THE GOLDEN GATE—*This beautiful and sweeping panoramic view of San Francisco Bay reveals the Golden Gate Bridge in the foreground and on the right, center, the city of San Francisco. Off in the distance is the San Francisco-Oakland Bay bridge.*

they were an estimated six per cent of an overall total of almost 2,000,000.

The Negro population of San Francisco increased from less than 5,000 to more than 40,000. That of Oakland from less than 9,000 to an estimated 45,000. In Richmond there were less than 300 Negroes in 1940, but more than 14,000 in 1949. The Negro population of Berkeley doubled during this period and now exceeds 7,000.

Like Willie Stokes, many of the Negro war workers (and later, veterans,) came to the San Francisco Bay Area directly from farms in the South and Southwest. But even more came from the small towns and cities where they had worked as laborers, porters, janitors, domestic servants, truck drivers, railroad section hands, freight handlers, machine operators, craftsmen and craftsmen's helpers.

A recent study of unemployed Negroes in Richmond disclosed that approximately 30 per cent had migrated directly from farms, 50 per cent from smaller towns and cities and the remaining 20 per cent from larger cities such as Dallas, New Orleans, Memphis, Little Rock, St. Louis and Tulsa. No recent conclusive studies of states of origin of the present Negro population in the Bay Area have been done. However, estimates based on previous reports and spot surveys suggest that as much as 65 per cent of the in-migrants since 1940 have come from the four West-South-Central states of Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma and Texas.

When Willie Stokes arrived in Richmond during the early part of 1943, he went to the home of a friend, also from Desha county, who had moved to Richmond the year before. They "doubled up" until Willie Stokes was able to secure an apartment unit in the emergency housing project about a month later. By the end of June he was able to send for his wife and children, who made the long trip out by bus over Highway 66.

On the day after his arrival Willie Stokes reported to Employment Service. The offices were crowded, and long lines of men and women stood patiently before the reception windows waiting their turns for interviews. At the reception window a middle-aged woman, wearing horn-rimmed glasses and perched on a high stool, wrote his name on a paper and gave him a card directing him to report to Yard Number 2 of the Kaiser Shipbuilding Company within 48 hours. He went to work as a "laborer,' and his first job was unloading steel plates from flat cars. Within a few days, however, he was being trained to use the torch and rod, and by the end of June he was reclassified as a "welder" and his pay increased.

All Kinds of Workers

There were all kinds of workers in the shipyard: whites, Negroes, Mexicans, Chinese, and even Indians. He could recognize the "poor whites," the "red necks" and the "Oakies" and "Arkies." If he was elated at the prospects of doing war work at good pay, he was awed and a little frightened by the size of the ships, the yards stretching for miles along the bay, the noise and the people hurrying everywhere. He was bewildered by the strange teeming city and its people. He did not know what to expect or what was expected of him. But he realized that he was not alone, that there were thousands like him in the yard, that thousands more would come.

Thousands more were working in the government installations, Army Port of Embarkation, Quartermaster Supply Depot, Navy Supply Base, Naval Air Station, San Francisco Medical Depot, Benecia Arsenal and the Navy Ammuntion Depot. A much smaller number of Negroes found employment in some of the little iron and steel plants. A number of jobs, particularly for Negro women, opened in the canning and food processing industries. The chemical, petroleum and electrical equipment firms in the Bay Area employed some Negroes. More than a thousand found platform jobs and other jobs in the San Francisco Municipal Railway System.

Total Negro employment in the Bay Area at its war-time peak in November, 1944, was more than 40,000. Acute labor shortages made jobs for Negroes in shipbuilding and government installations. With the exception of transportation, warehousing and a few smaller industries, Negroes like Willie Stokes found employment only on an "emergency, temporary and duration" basis. They were in industries born of war and doomed to collapse with its end.

On the job, Willie Stokes kept to himself and the small group that made up his all-Negro welding crew. There were stories of fights and outbreaks between Negroes and whites in the yard. He didn't want any trouble. He wanted to do his work, get his pay and stay on the job as long as he possibly could. He knew all too well that it was a chance that he might never have again.

He knew, too, that his chances for promotion beyond a welder were not good, that there were many jobs in which no Negroes, not even the well-educated ones, were employed. For the most part, they worked as laborers in a dozen basic "hull," rather than "outfitting" trades, as welders, burners, chippers, scalers, sheet-metal workers, carpenters, riggers and helpers. He knew of no Negro foremen or supervisors, although a few were used as "pushers" and straw bosses. No Negroes worked as technicians or in clerical and office jobs.

He knew that even had there been opportunity for advancement, his lack of education and experience would have handicapped him. In school he had completed only the third grade, attending classes held in a one-room

building that was used for a church on Sundays. It was never open for more than five months during the year; only three or four, if the picking season ran late.

He had never worked off a farm before. He knew how to drive trucks and tractors, to service them with gas and oil, and do minor repairs, but that was the extent of his acquaintance with machinery. He doubted if he could learn to read a blueprint or do fine precision welding. He knew that and accepted it. But he believed, as did thousands of his fellow Negroes in the industry, that given the chance and the time, he could do all right. The chance never came. It might have, but it never did. The time ran out, quickly.

When Willie Stokes went to work in the Kaiser yards in Richmond, he was required to join a union. This meant the payment of an initiation fee and monthly dues as long as he worked. Like most of the workers from the South, and particularly the Negroes, Willie Stokes had never before belonged to a union. Back in Arkansas, about eight or ten years ago, some of the wage hands and sharecroppers in Crittenden and St. Francis counties had organized a union. Whites and Negroes could belong. They held meetings in the small churches and out-of-the-way school houses, and some of the preachers were organizers. Willie Stokes never joined, but once he attended a meeting and read some of the mimeographed handbills. The people went out on strike during one of the chopping seasons. Some of them were driven off the land; others were beaten and thrown in jail. The strike was broken.

Shipyard Union

The shipyard union which Willie Stokes was required to join was the United Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America, AFL. But actually, neither he nor any of the other Negroes were bona fide members. They belonged to an "auxiliary," a separate, second-class adjunct of the parent, "white only," organization. He could attend meetings and pay dues. But he could not vote for officers; he had no voice in its affairs or its relations with the company. He did not know much about unions, but he knew jim-crow, segregation, discrimination, and second-class citizenship when he saw it.

Yet he paid his dues in much the same manner as he took a rear seat on a bus in Memphis or removed his hat when a white lady passed him on the street. He did not protest, but regarded the payments as a necessary bribe for the privilege of working at a job that paid more than he ever dreamed. That was not the attitude of a noted Negro artist, Joe James, down at the Marinship Company. With the support of a large committee of fellow workers in the yard, he refused to pay dues to the jim-crow auxiliary, and upon being discharged by the company carried the matter to the Supreme Court of California. The court ruled that a closed shop was contrary to public policy when the union discriminated in admitting racial minorities. The enforcement of that decision was another matter.

During 1944 employment in the shipbuilding industry in the Bay Area began to decline. This was due to reduced operations in the major construction yards. But Negro employment in this industry and in government installations increased. Willie Stokes didn't exactly understand what was happening. Negroes were usually the last to be hired and the first to be laid off. But gradually it became clear to him. The white workers were leaving, returning to their home states or seeking employment in the peace-time industries in the area. Negroes had no such opportunities. Willie Stokes couldn't leave the shipyard for other employment; there were no other jobs; that was why he remained until the bitter end and the discharge slip.

In January, 1944, the shipbuilding industry in the Bay Area employed some 240,000 people. About 24,000 or roughly 10 per cent were Negroes. By January of 1945 employment in shipbuilding had dropped to 200,000, but of this number more than 26,000 were Negroes. By July of 1945 less than 150,000 persons were employed in shipbuilding, and Negro employment had dropped to less than 20,000. In September of 1945, just two months later, Negro employment in shipbuilding had fallen precipitously to less than 12,000. This downward trend continued on into 1946 until the number of Negroes in the industry was an insignificant portion of the total in the labor force.

Over in the East Bay Area, one large ship construction firm employed more than 25,000 persons during its peak operations in 1944. Some 20 per cent, or about 5,000 were Negroes. After V-J Day, Negro employment was reduced to about 2,000. In early 1946 less than 300 Negroes found employment in that yard. A smaller shipyard farther down the bay employed approximately 1,500 Negroes in 1944, but less than half that number in 1945, and only a handful in 1946.

Up in Richmond the Kaiser yards employed more than 47,000 workers in December of 1944, of whom more than one fourth, or about 12,000, were Negroes. One of these was Willie Stokes, who had worked steadily in different yards for eighteen months. After V-J Day employment at Kaiser declined rapidly. By early 1946 less than 9,000 persons were working there, and total Negro employment was insignificant compared to what it had been at peak.

Willie Stokes could see the end coming, the closing of the shipyard, his loss of a job. He was apprehensive and hopeful all at the same time. But he could do nothing about it. A few of

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KAISER SHIPYARD *during the war years. Men working on the 10,500-ton Liberty freighter, Joseph N. Teal.*

his friends had loaded up their cars and headed back South. They went the way they came, down the Central Valley and into Bakersfield, on to Highway 66 and through the Mohave Desert, and then the long drive across Arizona and New Mexico, back into the red hills of Oklahoma, the Brazos bottoms of Texas, the cane fields of Louisiana, and the flat cotton lands of eastern Arkansas or the hill country to the north. But not Willie Stokes, and not the thousands like him who would never go back, who were in California to stay—for better or for worse—and for a long time.

Willie Stokes believed that he might be able to find a job as a laborer or longshoreman when his job in the shipyard ended. During the war, a great many Negroes had found such jobs down on the docks in Oakland or across the bay in San Francisco. He thought something might be found in one of the government establishments. He even speculated that there might be something right in Richmond, a steady job close to his home.

On November 22, 1945, Willie Stokes received his dismissal notice. He had seen hundreds of them handed out in recent months. He had expected it any day and recognized it immediately. He knew it was coming, and yet it was hard to believe that it could actually happen to him. But there it was, with his name and badge number, the blank spaces all filled in and neatly initialed at the bottom. In a way he was glad; there would no longer be the long nights of worrying and waiting.

He had thought about what he would do on the day he was fired. Maybe he would put his wife and kids in the car and drive down to Los Angeles for a vacation. Perhaps he would take off a month and drive back to Arkansas, show the people in Desha county that Willie Stokes had done all right out in California. It would be good to see some of his relatives again and have a long talk with old Cleo Jones. Maybe on a Sunday he would put on his new suit and go to the little unpainted church over by the levee. As he looked at the discharge slip, he realized that he would do none of these things.

He picked up the lunch box, slung the worn woolen jacket over his shoulder, and made for the ramp that led up over the railroad tracks and down to the bus stop across the street. He lived some two miles away and he was tired, but he decided to walk. He wanted to think. When he got home he showed the discharge slip to his wife. She had expected it, too, and indicated no surprise.

Among the Unemployed

On the following Monday Willie Stokes reported to the offices of the Employment Service. Long lines again crowded in front of the reception windows. But they were waiting to collect unemployment benefit checks. Few were being referred out to jobs. A sign above one of the windows read "Veterans Only," and before it waited a long line of younger men, some of them still wearing old army pants, greasy field jackets and the heavy GI shoes. He recognized from a glance some Negroes from Louisiana who lived near him in the housing project. He nodded slightly, and they nodded in return. Several men with whom he had worked on his last shift were ahead of him in the line.

In the large, squared-off space behind the counters were perhaps a hundred chairs, neatly arranged in rows and each occupied by what appeared to be a former shipyard worker. Some still wore their identification badges, others their plastic safety helmets, pushed back on their heads. At either side of the waiting areas were neat rows of desks at which sat the interviewers.

When it came his turn for an interview, Willie Stokes was motioned to the desk of a young man who wore a neat, double-breasted grey suit with a discharge button in the lapel. He was asked many questions: Where was he born? When did he move to California? How long had he worked in the shipyards? And so on. Finally, he was told that there were no openings. There were few demands for welders, and only the most experienced were being hired. No laborers were needed; in fact, there was a surplus, particularly now that the harvest and canning seasons were coming to a close.

If his wife cared to work as a cook or housekeeper, a few jobs were open. They didn't pay much, but might be worth investigating. A laborer's job might turn up later on, but the prospects in the Bay Area and in the state were not at all good he was told.

He was given a new card with his name at the top and his social security number written in little squares. He was told to report at least once each week and to promptly answer any summons to report for referral to a job.

The next day Willie Stokes began looking for a job in the government installations. One of his neighbors who worked at the Naval Air Station down at Alameda told him he might get a job there. Turnover, particularly among white workers, had been increasing, and Negroes were being hired to fill these places. But he found no job.

It was true, these establishments had greatly increased their employment of Negroes in 1945, but by December of that year they had passed peak employment; they were slowly reducing their work force in the early months of 1946. In 1944 one large military supply base employed some 3,000 Negroes. In 1945 this number had increased to a little over 5,000, but by 1946 it had been reduced to less than 4,000.

Another shipping and embarkation center had employed some 2,000 Negroes in 1945, but in 1946 it was employing only about half that number. One of the smaller ammunition depots afforded employment to an estimated 250 Negroes in 1945, but in 1946 not more than 10 per cent of that number were still working. Some estimates place the number of Negroes employed in government installations in the Bay Area in 1945 as high as 35 per cent of total Negro employment. After that time it declined, numerically and as a percentage. This was especially the case after early 1946. Willie Stokes didn't know much about figures and statistics. He knew that a lot of people couldn't find jobs.

During the following week he reported twice to the offices of the Employment Service, but he was not referred to a job. He collected the first of his unemployment compensation checks and was told to keep reporting back each week on the designated day. On the other days he "just about wore the car out" looking for a job. He went down to the south end of the bay, over into San Francisco. He went up the bay as far as Martinez and Vallejo and even up to Napa. He stood at the gates of flour mills and soap factories, oil refineries and the shipyards. He waited in the employment offices of the little steel mills and the iron and pipe factories, of the trucking firms and the machinery manufacturers. And with him waited hundreds of other men, many of them Negroes, former welders and scalers, shipfitters and burners. Once they were classed as essential skilled workers in a vital industry; now they were surplus common laborers, essential to no one.

Sometimes he never got inside the gate for an interview. Sometimes there were huge signs reading "No Help Wanted" and occasionally one that read "No Colored Need Apply." In the employment office of one of the small steel companies, he was interviewed by a polite elderly man. He was asked about his war-time experience, his education, his work in Ark-

ansas. The man was sympathetic, but he held out little chance for a job for Willie Stokes.

"You have little education," he said, "and in most cases your war-time experience will mean very little. During the war, wage costs weren't too important and the system of classification and grading by skills was all out of whack. They would call a man a welder who a month before had never seen a torch, and they paid him as a welder, too. They could afford to do it. The government was footing the bill and needed the ships. That's why it won't mean very much to have worked as a welder. I mean it isn't very likely to help you get a job now. Jobs out here require a lot of skill and experience, and many of you people from the South don't have it. Maybe you could learn in time . . . I guess you could."

He took from a desk drawer, perhaps, a hundred completed application forms like the one Willie Stokes had completed. "You see these cards," he said. "They are filled out by Negroes . . . about a hundred in all. Every one of these men has had a high school education and has worked in shipbuilding for at least two years. Most of them have had some other plant experience as well. We are going to hire some Negroes soon, a dozen perhaps. Of course, we are going to select the best ones we can get. We have to do it. It's good business. I am afraid we can't be of much help to you. If you could arrange to go to school or take vocational training or get some kind of apprenticeship training, you might qualify sometime, but that would take quite a while."

Willie Stokes walked out of the office, on past the line of applicants still waiting for interviews. It was funny almost. One day you were an essential skilled worker in a vital industry (they said that in the speeches every time they launched a ship) and the next you were a surplus unskilled laborer, essential to no one.

Some of the other people in the employment offices were hardly as polite. "We don't hire any colored people here," he was told by a clerk in the office of a machinery manufacturing company. "We have never hired any colored, not even during the war when there was a shortage, and we don't intend to start now." And at another place it was a different story, but it all added up to the same thing. "All our workers are referred by the union," said the clerk at the information desk. "You will have to be a member of the union and approved by the business agent before you can work here. But if I were you, I wouldn't bother about going to them; they won't take in any of you colored people." In the office of one of the large freight hauling companies in the East Bay Area, he was told again. "We get our drivers through the union, but the local that we contract with wouldn't let one of you colored boys behind a wheel."

Seeking Employment

Sometimes he would be the first in the lines forming before the gates in the morning. He would see the white workers who had arrived later called into the office for interviews. After completing an application form he was told not to wait, that the company would send him a letter "in case we need you." Such were the stories that Willie Stokes heard at the employment offices day after day. It was nothing new. He had heard similar ones all his life back in Desha county, Arkansas; they just sounded a bit strange when told with a western brogue rather than a southern accent.

During the last week of December, 1945, Willie Stokes received a notice to report to the office of the Employment Service to see about a job. He reported on the following morning and again talked with the young veteran in the double-breasted grey suit. "Out north of Richmond here, there is a small chemical plant that yesterday placed an order for two Negro laborers," the young interviewer said. "The jobs pay only eighty cents an hour, and I don't know just what kind of work you will do. It may last for several months or, again, it may be for only a few days. If you care to go out and check on it, I will give you a referral card." Willie Stokes nodded quickly. The interviewer gave him the card with the address of the company and the name of the man to see.

When he went to the plant Willie Stokes was wearing a clean pair of overalls and a new blue denim cap. He wanted to get that job. He could stop drawing money out of the bank. He got the job. At the end of the first week he drew a check for $30.38. It wasn't very much; it wasn't welder's pay. But it was more than the unemployment compensation checks, and it was a job. It wasn't too far from his home. It might be steady; he might get a wage increase.

Willie Stokes worked in the chemical plant for almost a year, with an occasional layoff. In December, 1946, about one third of all workers in the plant were laid off; he was one of them. There followed again the fruitless visits to the various plants of the year before. Willie Stokes, formerly an essential skilled worker in a vital industry, a responsible and upright citizen, was becoming a problem. People made studies and held conferences to determine what should be done about him and the thousands like him all up and down the West Coast. If Willie Stokes and his kind had "gone back where they came from," the problem would have been solved; it could have been exported like raisins or oranges. But Willie Stokes was not for export. He was in California to stay, like the Chinese and the Mexicans and the Filipinos and the Oakies and Arkies.

Down in Oakland in 1947 no less than seventy-five persons a day were filing applications for temporary indigent relief. Almost one half of these were Negroes, yet they were only an estimated 10 per cent of the population. In Alameda City, Negroes made up at least 25 per cent of the unemployed, although they were only a little more than 5 per cent of the population. Up in Vallejo, Negroes were in more dire circumstances perhaps than anywhere else in the Bay Area. Their numbers had increased from a little over 1,000 to more than 9,000 in the period 1940-1947. During the war most of them found employment in nearby government installations. But after 1945 employment dropped from approximately 45,000 to less than 15,000 in 1947. Some 4,000 Negroes workers remained in Vallejo, but almost half could find no employment.

On April 25, 1947, the Pacific Coast Board of Inter-governmental Affairs, a body composed of leading Federal and State executives in California, Oregon and Washington, held its seventh regular meeting in San Francisco. The problem of Willie Stokes—the problem of Negro unemployment—was prominent on the agenda. The facts presented were numerous; the discussion was long and earnest. The difficulties inherent in the whole matter were probably best summarized by a representative of the United States Employment Service when he said: "The short and immediate term outlook for Negro employment is not at all good. . . . If, as seems increasingly probable, we were to experience a significant recession, the lot of the West-Coast Negro, already serious, may become little short of desperate. . . . As long as Negroes are commonly regarded as marginal labor, they will suffer very heavy unemployment when sufficient white labor is available."

It is now February, 1949, and Willie Stokes has had only casual employment for almost two years. During last

(Continued on page 187)

THESE TWO SCENES from United Artists' *Home of the Brave* (produced by Stanley Kramer and directed by Mark Robson) show (left) Frank Lovejoy (right) in his attempt to comfort the Negro GI, James Edwards, at the loss of the Negro's best friend, Lloyd Bridges, the victim of a Japanese sniper. Bottom, James Edwards, in the role of the Negro soldier, meets his old school chum, played by Lloyd Bridges, in a quonset hut on a Pacific island under high tension dramatic circumstances. Edwards has volunteered for a dangerous mission, together with a group of white GIs, one of whom, T. J., played by Steve Brodie, is violently anti-Negro. From this situation develops the daring and dramatic story of *Home of the Brave*.

Hollywood Abandons Negro Stereotype in "Home of the Brave"

"When the Arthur Laurents' war play was presented on Broadway a few season's back, the central theme was anti-semitism. In its screen transference the central theme has been changed to Negro discrimination.

"*Home of the Brave* is the story of a Negro soldier, Peter Moss (played by James Edwards), who returns from a reconnaissance mission in the South Pacific the victim of a paralyzing traumatic shock.

"In order to help the boy, the doctor asks the four men who had been on the mission with Moss just what had happened on the island, and, with the application of narco-synthesis gets Moss to relive his experience.

"Gradually, in a series of flashbacks, the facts come out: the aggravation of Moss's deep-rooted sense of persecution under the stress of war, and his own feeling of guilt when he saw his buddy killed by Japanese snipers. Cure was effected completely when he came to realize that he was not guilty. He had not really wished his white friend's death. He had felt only what every soldier felt, relief that someone else had been killed rather than himself."

Home of the Brave received good reviews in the New York press. "Handles its problems of racial bigotry with intelligence," wrote Rose Pelswick in the *Journal American*. "I urge you by all means," said Samuel Grafton in the *Post*, "to see *Home of the Brave*."

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHANGES IN CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS FOR CONSIDERATION OF THE FORTIETH ANNUAL CONFERENCE NAACP

In accordance with Article IX, NAACP Constitution (Blue Book), the following proposals for changes of policy and/or program and constitutional amendments have been submitted to the Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for consideration by the Fortieth Annual Conference:—

Minneapolis, Minnesota, branch: Received at National Office, April 18, 1949:

Recommends that a biographical sketch of each candidate for the National Board be sent to the branches together with the ballot.

Recommends that Article V, Section 1, the amendment recommended by the 39th Annual Conference and subsequently approved by the National Board of Directors, September 13, 1948, (that the minimum dues be increased to $2.00) be reconsidered by the 40th Annual Conference.

Pueblo, Colorado, branch: Received at National Office, April 27, 1949:

Recommends that Article III, Section 2 (d) (Legal Redress) be amended to specify "that under no circumstances shall the Chairman of the Legal Redress Committee investigate any charge of discrimination without at least two members of said committee be present."

Recommended by **National Board of Directors** at its Meeting on November 8, 1948:

That Article V, Section 6 be amended to read:

"The National Office will match local assessments for state conferences; provided that the National Office assessment shall not exceed 10¢ per member where the branch assessment is 10¢ or more per member; and provided, further, that the National Office receive written request from the State Conference."

Recommended by **National Board of Directors** at its Meeting on May 9, 1949, at suggestion of the committee on branches:

That the following revision of the branch constitution (Article IV, Section 5, Paragraph 6, be considered by the 40th Annual Conference:

"Balloting shall commence not later than two hours after the announced time of the meeting."

South Bend, Indiana, branch: Received at National Office, May 10, 1949:

Adopted the following resolution at its regular meeting April 25, 1949:

That the National Board of Directors be directed to amend Article 2, Section 3, of the National Constitution so that the Board of Directors shall be nominated and elected by the Annual Convention.

The following recommendations for amending the branch constitution are hereby submitted by the **St. Paul branch.**

Whereas recent changes in the Constitution and By-Laws for branches of the NAACP have restricted utilization of democratic processes in branches; and

Whereas employment of many NAACP members on railroads and in other occupations making attendance at the annual election meeting impossible deprives them of the right to vote unless provision is made for absentee voting; and

Whereas the use of a printed ballot containing names of nominees would aid voters in accurately indicating their preferences;

Therefore be it resolved that the Executive Board of the St. Paul Branch of the NAACP at its regular meeting May 5, 1949, respectfully recommend that the National Convention of the NAACP adopt the following suggested amendments to the Constitution and By-Laws for branches:

1. That Article 4, Section 4, be amended to read as follows:

"Nominations for all offices and the Executive Committee shall be presented at the regular meeting next preceding the annual election meeting by a Nominating Committee of not less than five nor more than fifteen members, which shall have been previously elected by the branch at the preceding regular meeting; Provided that not more than two members of the Nominating Committee shall be an officer of the branch or member of the Executive Committee; and, Provided, that additional nominations may be made by written petition signed by three or more members of the branch in good standing as of thirty days prior to said meeting.

"In case a Nominating Committee is not elected, or neglects or fails to render a report, all nominations shall be made by petitions at the annual meeting as provided above."

2. That Article 4, Section 8, be amended to read as follows:

"The names of all nominees shall be placed on printed ballots containing spaces permitting the voter to exercise the write-in privilege if he desires."

3. That Article 4, Section 8, be amended to read as follows:

"The right to vote is personal and may not be exercised by proxy; Provided absentee ballots shall be available from the secretary at least fifteen days prior to the annual election meeting to all eligible voters requesting them. Absentee ballots must be returned by voters to the secretary prior to the distribution of ballots to voters at the election meeting."

(s) J. NATHANIEL SMITH, *President*
St. Paul Branch NAACP
Minnesota

The **Los Angeles,** California, branch has suggested that the present language of Article IV, Section 5 of the branch constitution, which says that "voting shall commence one hour after the announced time of the meeting," is really unenforceable because preliminaries at annual meetings take more than an hour.

The following revision in Article IV, Section 5 (paragraph 6) is recommended:

"Balloting shall commence not later than two hours after the announced time of the meeting."

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Ransom

NEW JERSEY DELEGATES *who attended the Eastern Regional Training Conference of the NAACP held at the Willkie memorial building, New York City, on April 2. Seated at the extreme left, front row, is Rev. E. S. Hardge of Jersey City, president of the New Jersey State Conference of NAACP branches. Seated at the extreme right, front row, is Delia H. Martin of East Orange, secretary of the New Jersey State Conference.*

LABOR

Biased Contractors: . Commissioner Robert Moses, chairman of the Triborough Tunnel Authority, has been requested to withhold final payment from contractors on Authority projects where they denied equality of job opportunity to Negro workers.

The NAACP in a letter addressed to the commissioner cited the cases against the contractors in which the State Commission Against Discrimination has found "probable" discriminations and for which further hearings have been set.

SCAD Inaction Hit: Charging the State Commission Against Discrimination with inaction and "delay in the enforcement of the law," the NAACP in May asserted that serious doubt is being cast upon the wisdom of relying solely upon the machinery of the Commission for the settlement of discrimination cases.

One case cited was that of the three-year delay in settling the case of a Negro seaman who had been refused employment as a radio operator on the S.S. Lehigh Victory on April 25, 1946, because the officers of the ship would not sail with a Negro. A complaint filed with SCAD on April 30, 1946, and amended on July 7, 1947, has not yet been satisfactorily settled despite the fact that SCAD found "probable cause" for the complaint almost a year ago.

SCAD Orders Back Pay: Payment of $150 in back wages to Curtis Chaney, Negro sandhog discriminated against by the George H. Flinn Corp., contractors for the Brooklyn-Battery tunnel, was agreed to in May by the construction company following conferences with representatives of the State Commission Against Discrimination and the Association. The NAACP intervened on Chaney's behalf after his complaint of discrimination by company foremen resulted in his demotion to a lesser position at a salary decrease of $2.80 a day.

Anti-Bias Clause in Labor Bill: The NAACP has renewed its appeal for non-discrimination amendments as part of the labor legislation to be passed by the 81st Congress. In a telegram to House majority leader John W. McCormick and minority leader Joseph W. Martin, the Association reiterated its position favoring repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and strongly urged the party leaders to assume as their personal responsibility the inclusion in the Lesinski bill, H. R. 2032, anti-bias amendments proposed by the Association in testimony before the House labor committee.

Similar telegrams were sent to Representatives Helen Gahagan Douglas (D., Calif.), John Lesinski (D., Mich.), Augustine Kelley (D., Penn.), Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. (D., N. Y.), and William Dawson (D., Ill.).

EDUCATION

Ordered to Admit Negro Student: Majorie Vanderbilt Toliver, 20-year-old Stowe Teachers college student is now preparing to transfer to the lily-white Harris Teachers college as result of a decision by Judge James E. Nangle.

Miss Toliver's re-application for admission to the Harris Teachers college followed a writ of peremptory mandamus issued on April 29 by Judge James F. Nangle of the Circuit Court of St. Louis directing the board and administrative officials to admit her forthwith.

Sponsored by the St. Louis branch of the Association, Miss Toliver first applied for a transfer from Stowe to Harris last August. Her application was rejected by the school officials, who informed her that she was "not eligible to transfer to our college."

On September 27, 1948, she filed a petition for a writ of mandamus, asking the court to compel the board to admit her.

The petition cited her qualifications, pointed out the responsibility of the board as a governmental agency, alleged that she had been denied admission solely on the ground of her race or color, and charged that the facilities available at Stowe are "greatly inferior to those offered to white students . . . at Harris."

Documenting the charge, the petition alleged that Stowe is not an accredited institution; that its faculty is

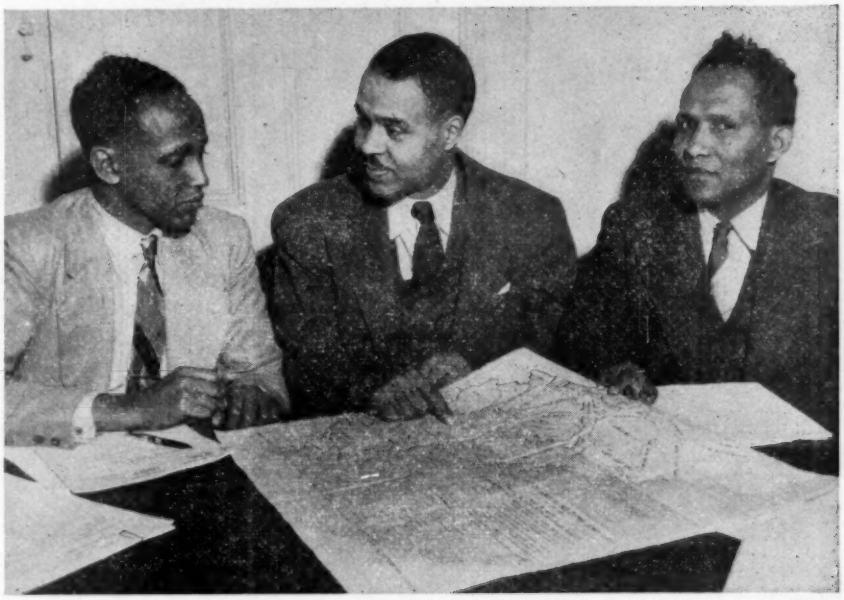
inadequate in number, in training, and in prestige; that its library lacks "the proper number of required volumes, kind of books, quality of books, space for books, personnel and staff"; and that it does not offer all of the courses available at Harris.

Argument on the case was heard by Judge Nangle in January and February, 1949. Despite the fact that Stowe was belatedly accredited by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools in March, Judge Nangle ruled that the board would have to admit Miss Toliver to Harris Teachers college.

University Applicants: In the first large-scale attempt to break the barriers of segregation in higher education, thirty-four young Negro men and women were turned down by the University of Texas when they sought admission to the university's professional and graduate schools.

Sponsored by the NAACP, members of the group applied on April 27 for admission to the university's medical, dental and other graduate schools. Max Fitchtenbaum, assistant registrar, rejected their applications and referred them to the jim-crow Texas State university at Houston.

Accompanying the applicants were Donald Jones, regional NAACP field secretary; U. Simpson Tate, regional special counsel: and J. H. Morton, former president of the Austin branch. The applicants and the NAACP leaders are considering plans for follow-up steps in the drive to open the university to colored students.



Ransom

REPRESENTATIVES *of the Somali Youth League, Abdullahi Issa (left) and Ali Noor (right), go over a map of their country with Roy Wilkins (center), assistant NAACP secretary. Messrs. Issa and Noor presented a memorandum to UN on the future of Ex-Italian Somaliland on April 21, 1949.*

AVE ATQUE VALE

Mourn Rabbi Wise: "Negroes of America bow in sorrow at the passing of one of their greatest and truest champions," Walter White, NAACP secretary, said in a message of condolence to the family of Rabbi Stephen Wise, a leader of American Jewry and a founder of the NAACP.

Dr. Wise died on April 19 at the age of 75. He was one of 53 religious leaders, educators, publicists, and social workers who signed the Lincoln birthday call forty years ago for a national conference out of which the NAACP developed. Last month he made what may have been his last public appearance when he addressed an NAACP mass meeting in denunciation of the lynching of Robert Mallard in Georgia.

Ransom

NEW YORK DELEGATES *who attended the Eastern Regional Training Conference held in the Willkie memorial building on April 2. Seated at extreme left, front row, is James E. Allen, president of the New York State Conference of NAACP branches.*

CARRYING THEIR FIGHT *to abolish segregation in education in Texas into the very halls of the state legislature, Negro students from the five colleges of Bishop, Wiley, Jarvis, Tillotson, and Samuel Huston, together with white students from the University of Texas, are shown in the gallery of the Texas Senate on the afternoon of April 27 as they picketed the legislature.*

Expressing the Association's sympathy, Mr. White said: "Our grief is assuaged only by the fact that he was spared to us for three-fourths of a century to guide and inspire us in the fight against every form of bigotry and in behalf of a more just and enlightened society."

On May 5 Barney Jaffin of New York City made a $50 contribution to the Association in memory of Rabbi Wise.

WHITE ON LEAVE

Secretary Tenders Resignation: Explaining that he wished "to devote the rest of [his] life to the promotion of the cause of human liberty" on a less strenuous and taxing plane, Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP released on May 12 the contents of his letter of resignation, which the NAACP board of directors unanimously rejected at its regular meeting on May 9.

"Free of the day-to-day obligations of administrative work," Mr. White wrote, "I hope to be able by writing, speaking and perhaps serving on a consultative basis to devote myself to the world-wide problems of human and racial relations."

After a three-hour meeting during which the board members insisted that he begin, on June 1, his previously-granted year's leave of absence, meanwhile withholding his resignation, Mr. White asked for a few days to think over the board's proposal.

Citing the tremendous pressure of routine administrative activity and its toll upon his health, Mr. White said: "I have been warned again, following a physical check-up, that I am 'riding for a fall' if I continue my present schedule. I have been told that I am in for very serious trouble if I do not change my pattern of work. I have found that I am temperamentally unable to slow down. As long as I remain executive secretary, I cannot be free from administrative burdens without harm to the Association's work and cause . . . Being unable to do the required job while retaining the semblance of responsibility would cause me great anguish."

He had not taken the leave granted last fall, he said, primarily because of "the fight in Congress to obtain amendment of the Senate rules against filibusters." Now however, he felt that he should resign. He expressed the hope that "through writing, a limited number of speaking engagements and in other ways, I shall be able to be of even greater service in the fight for civil rights when I am freed from the increasingly heavy burden of administration."

Mr. White concluded with an expression of appreciation for the support and cooperation the board, the staff and the membership had given him during his thirty-one years with the Association.

RESOLUTIONS PROPOSING CHANGES IN POLICIES AND PROGRAM FOR CONSIDERATION OF THE 40th ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Jamaica, New York, branch: Received at National Office, May 19, 1949:

HORACE D. STANTON, *of Galveston, Texas, one of the 39 Negroes who attempted on April 27 to gain entry to various schools of the University of Texas shaking hands with Donald Jones (left), southwest regional secretary. Mr. Stanton applied for admission to the school of dentistry.*

Ross

RESOLUTION ON POWERS OF THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF BRANCHES

The strength and power of every organization, whether it be the nation or community group, lies in its membership and its various branches. It is the essence of democracy that control of groups should rest in the people who make up the body of that organization. The NAACP is conceived in and dedicated to the preservation of the democratic tradition and therefore it must at all times conduct itself in the most democratic manner. The members of the branches of the NAACP once each year send their elected delegates to attend an Annual Conference to determine policy and express the will of the membership of the organization.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the Annual Conference of branches be henceforth known as the Annual Convention of the NAACP and that the Convention be the highest governing body of the organization and all action properly taken at the convention be binding upon the Board of Directors and the Executive Staff.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Board of Directors be directed to take such action as is necessary to amend the Charter to conform to the intent of this resolution.

RESOLUTION ON THE MARSHALL PLAN AND THE ATLANTIC PACT

It has been the established policy of the NAACP to remain aloof from all matters pertaining to the foreign policy of the United States except on occasions when it directly affected the colonial areas where there are large numbers of people of color. However, in the past year the National Board of Directors have seen fit to approve the ECA (Marshall Plan) without consultation with the branches or membership of the organization. In view of the great criticism which this plan has met from many and in view of its complete denial of any aid to Africa and colonial areas.

LET IT BE RESOLVED that the branches assembled in convention disapprove of the Marshall Plan and other forms of assistance to nations which hold colonial areas in subjection and exploit the people of colonial areas only for the benefit of the imperial power.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact which permit the European nations to continue to hold their empires and help finance the armies which continue the oppression of the African people and other colonials, are not the real way to a secure peace in the world.

WHEREAS, the ousting of Dr. DuBois from the national staff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People can in no way help the NAACP in its fight for the rights of the Negro people; and

WHEREAS, because of the long record of service of Dr. DuBois to the NAACP and the colored peoples of the world, and his principled struggle today against all forms of oppression, the disaffection and demoralization created by his ousting, can only retard us in the fight for Negro freedom.

BE IT RESOLVED, THEREFORE, that Dr. DuBois be reinstated to his former position, or one of a like stature without prejudice, by authority of the National Conference.

WHEREAS, freedom of Political expression is a fundamental cornerstone of all free American institutions; and

WHEREAS, under the smokescreen of suppressing minority parties, reactionary forces in America are not only undermining the freedom of all political expression at variance with their own, but is also hamstringing trade unions and attacking all progressive organizations, especially those leading the struggle for Negro rights.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the NAACP protest the various attempts to outlaw minority parties, whether by the state legislatures, the Federal government, or the courts.

WHEREAS, certain members of both the Republican and Democratic parties in the 81st Congress have knifed the civil rights legislation in the back; and

WHEREAS, these lawmakers have given concrete evidence of their anti-Negro bias; and

WHEREAS, at a recent meeting of the National Board of Directors of the NAACP a resolution was adopted calling for a special drive by the NAACP to roll up a huge registration of voters of Negro descent in the year 1949; and

BE IT RESOLVED, that this branch shall offer at the NAACP Convention the resolution that the National Board set up a special Political Department to the end that every available American of Negro descent be enrolled as a voter, and that this special Political Department conduct a special drive to defeat the members of the 81st Congress who have failed to fight for civil rights, and to mobilize strong political support behind the congressmen who have kept faith with us.

WHEREAS, the NAACP occupies a peculiar and unique status in the lives of Americans of Negro descent which places it above political partisanship and controversy; and

WHEREAS, because of its exalted po-

Ross

CALLING FOR CIVIL RIGHTS *for everybody and proclaiming that "separate but equal" education is a mockery, these Negro and white students from six Texas institutions are shown as they marked on April 27 toward the steps of the state capitol in Austin.*

CAMPAIGNERS *at final membership meeting of Indianapolis, Indiana, branch, look on as R. T. Avington (left) of the Mid-western Business Association presents a trophy to Ernest Dix as highest individual solicitor in the 1949 membership campaign.*

sition Americans of Negro descent look to NAACP for leadership in the great crisis now facing the nation in regards to civil rights legislation and related matter of vast concern to our group; and

WHEREAS, it is the thinking of this body that NAACP has fallen short of projecting its vast potential in the mobilization of the vast body of both Negro and liberal white citizens in the struggle to attain these rights; and

WHEREAS, such shortcomings on the part of NAACP tend to cause a great portion of the masses of Negro Americans to look to other sources for leadership in this broad offense causing loss of prestige to NAACP; and

BE IT RESOLVED, that this branch offers as a resolution to be submitted at the Annual Conference of NAACP in July the proposition that a committee of fifteen persons be elected from the conference to study and offer suggestions for reorganizing the structure of branch organization work to the end that a greater branch participation be achieved in the broad fight for civil rights and all other phases of the NAACP program; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that if the National Office shall fail to effectuate such changes as shall bring about greater efficiency and branch participation, then the branches shall have the right to join with other organizations in the fight for those objectives for which all Americans of Negro descent so earnestly desire.

PROPOSALS FOR CHANGE OF POLICY AND/OR PROGRAM OF ACTION

New Britain, Connecticut, branch: Received at National Office, May 10, 1949:

A Resolution Concerning A Special Session of Congress:

WHEREAS, the present session of Congress that promised so much a few short months ago has offered nothing but procrastination and filibuster; and

WHEREAS, in spite of the increased political awakening of the people of this country Congress has scornfully allowed the Dixiecrats to filibuster all civil rights legislation off the floor using the "lack of time" as an excuse for giving way to the filibuster; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, that the 40th Annual Conference of the NAACP call on the President to call for a special session of Congress this summer to give ample time for action on all civil rights bills not enacted at the time of adjournment; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the 40th Annual Conference of the NAACP instruct its executive officers to convene a united Negro and labor conference, representing Negro and labor organizations in all parts of the country, to meet in Washington simultaneously with the special session of Congress to press for the passage of the civil rights bills.

Passed unanimously by the New Britain branch, May 5, 1949.

Book Reviews

JIM CROW

In the Land of Jim Crow. **By Ray Sprigle. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1949. 215pp. $2.59.**

"When the white folks gave him back to me he was in his coffin. I held his head in my hands when I kissed him. And I felt the broken pieces of bone under the skin. It was just like a sackful of little pieces of bone.

"I put my arms around him for one last time as he lay there. All down one side of him there were no ribs—just pieces that moved when I held him."

THIS WAS NOT JESUS.

THIS WAS "HENRY GILBERT, forty-two years old, Negro farmer, murdered by the white folks of Harris and Troup counties, Georgia, May 29, 1947."

It is infuriating. Impossible and infuriating. Over and again an impossible wickedness and injustice; an impossible shame and evil and sin against joy. The terror and anguish of the Negro. The pain and terror and the impossible cruelty and injustice to the Negro. Such an impossible and wicked insult as is almost unendurable. This now, a white man, Ray Sprigle, author of *In the Land of Jim Crow*, a generous and decent white, is only beginning to learn. For four weeks Sprigle, a Pittsburgh journalist, masqueraded as a Negro in the deep south of

THE NEGRO
in the United States
By E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Dr. Frazier, distinguished Professor of Sociology at Howard University and President of the American Sociological Society in 1948, presents in this book a complete sociological study of the Negro in America. For the first time, he treats the Negro community as a vital part of American society. Remarkable for its encyclopedic scope, the book covers the subject historically from the African backgrounds to the present, and takes up such subjects as class distinctions, rural communities, the family, church, health, education, crime. Over 750 pages.

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Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi.

It is true that to examine the conditions which Sprigle searches with a more objective eye would be a little fairer to the south. There is after all the beginning of something for the Negro in the south. But the experiences from which Mr. Sprigle was forced to draw upon were too similar, too brief to give a "fairer" view of this subject. For to be a Negro in the south, to be the lone incorruptible nigger of the whites (the nigger alone and incorruptible before the white justice and murder) is tremendously more violent and active than parlor objectivity. Thus Sprigle's truth unobjective, highly personal, is in a sense the greater truth for the Negro of the United States: as long as one Negro continues to be harmed in cruelty or injustice.

It remains only now to tell these men: It is impossible to bear this terror longer, longer. We will shriek soon for the wild eagle in America to give justice and joy to men, to bring Christ on fire with love to all men in America. We are the Black men of America, and we will live in joy and love and Freedom!

HOWARD BAER

AFRAMERICAN CROSS SECTION

***Without Magnolias.* By Bucklin Moon. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1949. 274pp. $3.00.**

In *Without Magnolias* Bucklin Moon tells the story of a Negro family of four—mother, two daughters, and a son living in a small Florida town where a college for Negroes is located. In this situation his milieu includes characters from various walks of life from the professional to the most menial types of employment among Negroes and a fair range of activities among the whites with whom the destinies of these Negroes are inextricably bound. He manages to work in the slights, the insults, the pretense and deceit, the downright cruelty inherent in such a situation, while at the same time he emphasizes the struggle, the high purpose, the hope and despair, and even the lack of manhood among Negroes in the area. The book is thus a panorama of Negro life too often heretofore dealt with too sketchily and sometimes with serious distortions.

Esther, the mother, is reconciled to acceptance of the situation as she finds, and has found, it all her life. Not so with her children. She and her son Luther have managed to give both girls a good education at the sacrifice of Luther's training. Alberta, the elder daughter, has moved to New York, grown sophisticated, learned to move easily in New York and Washington society, where she is on familiar terms with Negro writers, artists, and socialites, as well as with that coterie of whites who sincerely or facetiously mingle with Negroes in social and literary groups. Bessie, now the secretary of George Roberts, president of the college, would like to stay in New York, but she has adjusted herself to making things go at home and to contributing her bit to the progress of her people at home.

The conflicts in the story arise from several important sources. There is, of course, the general situation requiring all Negroes, regardless of their status to acknowledge the superiority of whites—the drive to make them say "Mr." when addressing a white man, the avoidance of such titles for Negroes, the humiliation and even the negation of personality of the Negro bellhop, porter, or barkeep. Then there is the squelching of achievement by honest effort in business and in the professions. To mention one more, there is the harnessing of opinion, however right and noble it might be, lest it result in altering the *status quo*. Such things are shown to operate disastrously in the personal lives as well as the general community of both races.

All of this with its branching out into life among Negroes, even to the identification of certain well-known members of the race, is told in an even temper. The book lacks bitterness, though it certainly has spirit. The remarkable thing is that Moon encompasses so much with such great ease. *Without Magnolias* is at once a readable story and a social document to be reckoned with.

ARTHUR E. BURKE

Willie Stokes

(Continued from page 179)

August he worked for one month on a construction job, and in December he worked for a couple of weeks as a pick-and-shovel man on a cable-laying gang. He worked as a migrant farm larborer during the last harvest season. His wife hires out for house work several days each week. Somehow he manages to get by, or at least he keeps a place to live and a little to eat.

The children don't have good clothes to wear to school like during the war. But that isn't so noticeable now; there are a lot of people like Willie Stokes and a lot of children like his in Richmond and up in Vallejo and down in Oakland and over across the bay in San Francisco.

Sometimes he wonders about returning to Arkansas. But this doesn't concern him for very long. He knows that he will never go back. He probably couldn't find a job in Desha county Arkansas, even if he wanted to go back. Things are bad; they are very bad for Willie Stokes and his family out in California. But they will stay; there are good reasons. In California his childen go to the same schools as other children. They go for nine months during the year. The buildings are new and warm and well lighted. He can ride on a bus without having to take a rear seat marked "colored." He can attend any movie and take any seat he likes; no climbing the long flights of stairs to the uppermost stuffy balcony. He can walk down the street without having to move toward the curb when a white man passes. He isnt required, on perhaps pain of beating or arrest, to say "ma'am" to the woman clerks in the stores.

Western "Freedom"

He can vote by registering and going to the polls, and no night-shirt Klansmen are going to try to stop him. It isn't likely that he will be clubbed by bullying white policemen "just for the hell of it," thrown in jail and then charged with "disturbing the peace." When he works he knows that he will be paid in cash, get all that is coming to him. His children can use the library like any other children. He can join the local chapter of the NAACP or some unions or a local anti-discrimination committee without fear of violent reprisal at the hands of law and order.

These are ordinary rights due any citizen. And yet they have a special meaning for Willie Stokes. He never had them before. They are things that money and a job alone cannot give. They are things that poverty and unemployment cannot take away. That is why Willie Stokes is in California to stay. That is why thousands like him will never go back to Arkansas. Louisiana, Oklahoma or Texas or "where they come from." That is why, in part, Negroes will continue to pour into the state, swelling the number already crowded into its teeming cities. Willie Stokes is not alone. Reliable estimates indicate that at least 85 per cent of the Negroes migrating to the West Coast since 1940 have remained there.

Negroes on the West Coast face a very uncertain future. The most important and immediate problems are employment and housing. Related to these are health, welfare and education and innumerable difficulties with which the general public is only remotely acquainted. But the potential resources of the community and of the Negro group itself suggest that eventually Negroes can achieve a more wholesome and complete adjustment in the Bay Area than they have in any of the larger urban-industrial centers.

Numerous interracial groups are active throughout the Bay Area. Some are sponsored by churches, some by organizations such as the Young Women's Christian Association. Still others are supported by veterans' groups or by trade unions and trade union councils or central bodies. Local city officials, aware of certain problems in Negro-white relations in their communities, have established official or quasi-official bodies to make studies and develop race relations programs. Some two years ago in Richmond, representatives of the American Council on Race Relations were invited to conduct training courses on minority group problems for the police force.

Some of the trade unions, particularly the affiliates of the Congress of Industrial Organizations in the automobile, canning, shipping and steel industries in the area, stress non-discrimination in employment and admission to unions. Working with Negro groups and employers, they have widened job opportunities for Negroes. Whatever one may think of the left-wing tendencies of the Bridges-controlled International Longshoremen and Warehouse Workers Union, the fact remains that through it Negroes have obtained a fair break in job opportunities and union participation. Even in some of the die-hard affiliates of the American Federation of Labor, there is a growing awareness of the importance of absorbing rather than alienating the Negro worker in the Bay Area. For example, the Alameda and Francisco Central Labor Councils helped establish in San Francisco a branch of the Jewish Labor Committee, whose purpose is to combat prejudice and discrimination among trade unions and trade-union members.

Group Consciousness

A significant group consciousness is developing among Bay-Area Negroes. Instead of isolated individuals or families from Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma or Texas, they are becoming communities of people in the compact cities. A more mature and hard-headed Negro leadership, capable of directing the frustrations and aggressiveness of individuals into more constructive channels of political and economic action, is emerging. These leaders stand out in sharp contrast to some of the Uncle Toms and handkerchief heads on the one hand and the hide-bound racial chauvinists on the other.

Thus Willie Stokes and those like him are not helpless in the face of the pressing problems of unemployment, housing shortages, discrimination in unions and the multiple forms of race prejudice. But the resources of the community and of the Negro group are hardly sufficient to cope with the most immediate and important of these. The positive developments are small when placed against the almost overpowering needs of 90,000 recent Negro migrants to the Bay Area.

While some programs are presently in operation, their results will not be significant for a number of years, and the immediate need of Willie Stokes and his people is a job today and tomorrow. In the absence of Federal or State legislation outlawing discrimination in job opportunities, the prospects for rapid progress are not good. It can be anticipated that discrimination on racial grounds will become more pronounced if the present high rate of unemployment increases.

The development of new industries, an increase in demand for semi-skilled and unskilled workers would possibly lead to an absorption of the Negro unemployed. But there is the real probability that the solution would be only temporary. Increases in Negro employment would more than likely induce more in-migration to the San Francisco Bay Area. For mechanization of southern agriculture is going to force more Negroes off the farms. This was demonstrated immediately after the war when Negro shipyard workers from Portland, Seattle, and Vancouver, instead of returning to their home states, migrated into the Bay Area where reductions in Negro employment were not as drastic as in Oregon and Washington. It is for this reason that no long-term solution to the problem of Negro unemployment in the area is anticipated.

But Willie Stokes and his people are in the Bay Area to stay. They may find few jobs, and then only the "hot, heavy and dirty" ones or perhaps those in the menial and service occupations. They may have to "double up" with friends and relatives in the already over-crowded Negro communities and public housing projects. But they will be joined by in-laws, parents, aunts and uncles. As a prominent sociologist recently pointed out, "The Negro is now the number one minority group and the number one minority group problem on the West Coast and in the Bay Area." The sooner the community realizes it, the sooner something can be done. The Bay Area need not be another Chicago or Detroit. Willie Stokes will try to prevent it.

Brown Britishers

(Continued from page 174)

what the March on Washington Movement was to the NAACP, and McKonnen plays Randolph to Mitchell's Walter White.

George Padmore, who is familiar to *Crisis* readers, works with both of the above mentioned organizations, as well as a host of liberal and progressive groups in Britain. All paths lead to George when colonial leaders arrive in Britain and need briefing on the ways of the Englishman in his lair. Combining a trenchant pen, an amazing capacity for research, and passionate conviction, Padmore is an institution all by himself.

There are numerous prominent Negro professional men who maintain a lively interest in colonial affairs and support these racial watchdogs, but who are, themselves, primarily devoted to their professions. There is also a group of brilliant scholars and artists including people like Dr. Arthur Lewis from Trinidad, who holds a chair in economics at the Victoria University of Manchester; Samuel Coleridge Taylor's daughter, who is a prominent composer and concert pianist; and Peter Abrahams, the South African novelist.

Black Fortune Seekers

One of the most interesting aspects of race relations in post-war Britain is the problem posed by hundreds of West Indians and West Africans who have decided to come to Britain to seek their fortunes—or at least to make a decent living. Some pay their passage. Some are "stowaway" and Britain cannot legally deport them once they set foot on the mother country's soil. These men are quick to remind the Englishman that they fought for Britain, that she claims to have a labor shortage, that wages are low in the colonies and that they feel if a little money is to be made and training is to be had, they have a right to share in it. Britain is disturbed and somewhat perturbed by her chickens coming home to roost. Tensions over the stowaways flared into a race riot in Liverpool in August, 1948. There was some talk last summer of appointing a special "race relations expert" to deal with these problems of migration.

A week before I landed in Britain in 1948, a book, *Negroes in Britain*, by Dr. Kenneth Little, social anthropologist at the London School of Economics, had appeared. It presented the first scholarly survey of the history of race relations in the British Isles and a penetrating psychological analysis of the causes of the "color bar." It also contained a sociological analysis of the colored settlement in Cardiff, Wales: British Bronzeville, where some 3,000 colored men and their wives and children form a community in Cardiff's dockland. The book was favorably reviewed in British journals, but most of the leaders of the colored community were highly critical of Dr. Little's work.

While I was in Cardiff, several discussions of the book were led by A. Sheppard, for years one of the most active community leaders, and Harry O'Connell, leader of the left-wing Colonial Defense Association. Present were representatives of the Arab and Somali ethnic communities, as well as various interested citizens. The group asked me, if I ever published any data on their community, to

make clear their feeling that the author had relied too heavily upon data supplied by a white Methodist mission preacher whom they considered hostile to their community interests, that he had uncritically accepted certain statements about their morals and social habits which were given him by police officials, and that they felt that he had not put his fingers upon the real sources of color discrimination; viz., a deliberate alliance between the shipowners and the reactionary leadership of the National Seamen's Union who were determined to sweep all colored seamen from British ships. They felt, too, that he had not devoted enough space to the stable families in the community, and had made generalizations about the habits of Arabs and Somalis that were not true.

As I promised them, I am making this report of their reactions. I feel that here we have something really new and significant in the history of social research: a critical assessment of a sociologist's writing by the very people he studied. As a co-author of *Black Metropolis,* it is the kind of grass-roots reaction I would have liked to have seen in Chicago.

Bronzeville's Young People

This British Bronzeville's young people intrigued me—these brownskinned offsprings of African, West Indian, and Arab fathers by Welsh, Irish, and English mothers. And among them too were the offspring of the several generations of British-born colored people that have grown to adulthood there. About a thousand of these native-born Brown Britishers live in Cardiff.

American colored youngsters would feel right at home among these Cardiff young people. Their cricket and rugby games would seem a little strange, but American youth would understand the gusto and will to win that I saw on two occasions when the Colored Internationals played cricket against a white Welsh team. And who could feel an alien on Saturday night at the Bute Town Social and Welfare Club (formerly called "The Big Apple")? Or any night at the colonial seamen's hostel when the jitterbugging began?

Here were young people no whit different from those at home, though the discourteous term "half-caste" is all too often used as a label for them. These are young people intent on earning a living, marrying and raising their families, enjoying their athletics, their singing and dancing.

They would like to know their American counterparts better. Not everyone expressed it like Moses Hassan, an accountant, the son of a Somali engineer, who upon two occasions said to me, "Can you give me the names and addresses of some of the colored youth in America? I'd like so much to correspond with some of them?" (Are there NAACP youth who would like to take him up on it?). Only a few were so articulate as John Actie, son of a St. Lucian seaman and a British colored mother, who had flown many a mission over Germany and who wanted to know if there was any chance of a job with some colored commercial aviation outfit in America. But I could feel it in the quiet courtesy they extended me, in their nostalgic comments on the American colored troops they had met, and in the avid way they asked for copies of *Ebony* and *Negro Digest* and American Negro newspapers.

One could see the determination in all the British-born colored youth, as they face life in a new Socialist Britain, to reject the status of "half-caste" that some Britishers have imposed on them and to operate as full men and women.

A trip to Britain, rubbing shoulders with black and brown men from everywhere, hearing them pour out their souls, seeing them struggling for education, economic opportunity and political independence was a reminder that in this One-World age, American Negroes must become aware of the great reservoir of confidence and goodwill that darker people everywhere have for us.

Editors On Filibuster

(Continued from page 173)

erners on the civil-rights issue. This mendaciously reactionary paragraph is from John Temple Graves "This Morning" as carried in the March 5 issue of the Jacksonville, Fla., *Times-Union*:

> The ridiculous censorship forced on national publishers and other publicists by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the organizations and individuals it influences matches the power this association and its associates possess now in realms political. The extent of the political power is eloquent in the present spectacle of the Senate forced to hold up its whole planetary business to try to force through a civil force program concerning much of which the majority of Americans are dubious to say the least.

Ralph McGill writing in the March 14 issue of the Atlanta, Ga., *Constitution* under the title: ". . . I Cannot Hear What You Say," a quotation from Emerson, after expressing his belief that the civil-rights legislation is unconstitutional, castigates the South in these terms:

> But what we do speaks so loud that most of the nation cannot hear what we say. . . . I cannot forget the four dead bodies in a field near the line between Walton and Oconee counties, slain by a mob from both, and no one ever brought to trial. I cannot forget the killings of men for voting, or for owning an automobile. And most of all, I cannot forget that in none of these cases have the guilty ever been found guilty and punished. . . . I cannot hear with any sincerity a fight which is not a whole fight; one which is made in Washington, D. C., and not in all the other states where it is needed. . . . The world judges us finally, as does a just and observing God, on what we do. Not what we say.

Civil-Rights Package

Every one is aware that the filibuster in defense of the filibuster was fought to make it impossible to stop filibusters in the future. This was done to clear the decks for a fight against Mr. Truman's civil-rights proposals when they are brought up for debate on the floor of the Senate. On Thursday, April 28, Senator J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island introduced the President's civil-rights package in four separate bills containing measures on anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, FEPC, and an omnibus civil-rights bill. None of this legislation, however, is expected to be acted upon at the present session of Congress. But there is hardly any doubt that some civil-rights legislation will eventually be passed, and a large number of southern editors are aware of this. They are aware too of the anachronism of second-class citizenship in a country which has set itself up as a democratic paragon for the rest of the world.

In classifying the papers on the filibuster, the following twenty-six northern and western papers were opposed: Park Region Echo, Alexandria, Minn.; Beacon Journal, Akron, Ohio; Courier, Waterloo, Iowa; Knickerbocker News, Albany, N. Y.; Record, Troy, N. Y.; Republican, Waterbury, Conn.; Herald News, Fall River, Mass.; Inquirer, Philadelphia, Pa.; Union, Sacramento, Calif.; Herald, New Britain, Conn.; Argus-Leader, Sioux Falls, S. D.; Cottonwood Citizen, Windom, Conn.; Star, Washington, D. C.; Macoupin County Enquirer, Carlinville, Ill.; Telegram, Worcester, Mass.; The Des Moines Register, Des Moines, Ia.; Enquirer, Cincinnati, Ohio; Dispatch, St. Paul, Minn.; Journal, Meriden, Conn.; Chronotype, Westboro, Mass.; Herald Tribune, New York City; Sun, Lowell, Mass.; Journal-Transcript, Peoria, Ill.; Democrat, Alton, Iowa; Times, Davenport, Ia.; Star-Times, St. Louis, Mo.; and The New York Times.

Among northern and western papers these twenty-three did not look with general favor upon a filibuster but, nevertheless, felt that in this instance it served a good cause were Daily Monitor, Concord, N. H.; News, South-

bridge, Mass.; Star, Muncie, Ind.; News, Saginaw, Mich.; Star-Gazette, Elmira, N. Y.; State Journal, Lansing, Mich.; Times, Bay City, Mich.; Minnetonka Record, Excelsior, Minn.; Citizen, Columbus, Ohio; Star, Kansas City, Mo.; News-Democrat, Goshen, Ind.; Record, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; Times, Hartford, Conn.; Herald, Maseca, Minn.; Press, Westwood, Calif.; News, Buffalo, N. Y.; Enquirer, Cincinnati, Ohio; Christian Science Monitor, Boston, Mass.; Citizen, Tuscon, Ariz.; Tribune, Coshocton, Ohio; News, Brawley, Calif.; Tribune, Minneapolis, Minn.; and the Forum, Fargo, N. D.

The following eleven southern papers were opposed to the filibuster in no uncertain terms: Union News, Townson, Md.; Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala.; News, Sturgis, Ky.; Progress-Index, Petersburg, Va.; Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky.; Herald, Durham, N. C.; Times, St. Petersburg, Fla.; Times, Chattanooga, Tenn.; News-Journal, Daytona Beach, Fla.; News-Virginia, Waynesboro, Va.; and the Herald, Bristol, Va.

These forty-eight southern papers either supported the filibuster or tried to justify it on the grounds that it was being used this time to protect the rights of a minority against the majority: Commercial Appeal, Memphis, Tenn.; Tennessean, Nashville, Tenn.; Record, Columbus, S. C.; Leaf-Chronicle, Clarksville, Tenn.; News Sentinel, Knoxville, Tenn.; Press Scimitar, Memphis, Tenn.; Progress, Charlottesville, Va.; Citizen, Asheville, N. C.; Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.; News-Free Press, Chattanooga, Tenn.; State, Columbia, S. C.; Journal, Shreveport, La.; Chronicle, Augusta, Ga.; Ledger, Lakeland, Fla.; Times, Tampa, Fla.; Eagle, Dothan, Ala.; News-Leader, Richmond, Va.; Times-Herald, Newport News, Va.; News, Brunswick, Ga.; Home, Talladega, Ala.; Star, Anniston, Ala.; Times-Journal, Selma, Ala.; Advocate, Baton Rouge, La.; Index-Journal, Greenwood, S. C.; Free Press, Kinston, N. C.; Daily News, Greensboro, N. C.; Independent, Anderson, S. C.; Leader-Call, Laurel, Miss.; Post, Birmingham, Ala.; Press, Newport News, Va.; News-Tribune, Rome, Ga.; Times, Roanoke, Va.; World-News, Roanoke, Va.; Northern Virginia Daily, Strasburg, Va.; Leader, Covington, Tenn.; Enterprise, High Point, N. C.; Advance, Lynchburg, Va.; Banner, Nashville, Tenn.; Times, Asheville, N. C.; News, Savannah, Ga.; Star-Banner, Ocala, Fla.; Times, Shreveport, La.; Alabama Journal, Montgomery, Ala.; Jasper County Record, Ridgeland, S. C.; Record, Vernon, Texas; Times, Kingsport, Tenn.; Banner, Nashville, Tenn.; and the Times-Dispatch, Richmond, Va.

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

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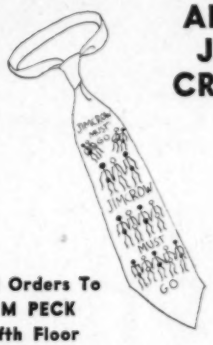

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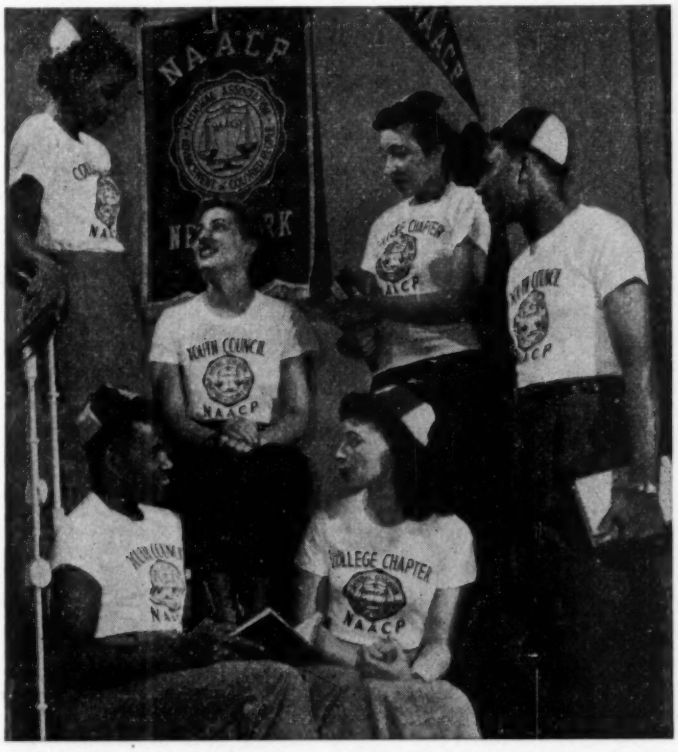

YOUNG AMERICA IN THE NAACP: The NAACP T-shirts, caps, and banners pictured here may be purchased through the national office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York. Prices are as follows:

T-shirts (small, medium, and large)	$ 1.25
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